

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1249718-1

Total Deleted Page(s) = 5

Page 83 ~ b3;
Page 93 ~ b3;
Page 94 ~ b3;
Page 187 ~ b3;
Page 190 ~ b3;

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Office Mem

• UNITE

VER. ENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM-C; PERJURY

DATE: 2/4/57

Re O-1 dated 1/24/57.

By letter dated 9/14/55 the NYO advised the Bureau that inasmuch as this was primarily an INS case a separate letter was being directed to the local office of INS requesting that office to advise the NYO of the final disposition of the case. The NYO placed the BROWDER case in a closed status at that time.

The case was subsequently reopened in the NYO for the purpose of preparing a summary report.

By letter dated 9/10/56 the NYO advised the Bureau that AUSA, SDNY THOMAS A. BOLAN had advised that he had submitted the results of interviews with prospective witnesses in the captioned case to the Department of Justice, Washington, DC, and was awaiting a decision from the Department concerning prosecutive action.

On 1/31/57 AUSA BOLAN advised SA JAMES E. HANLON that he had not as yet received any word from the Department of Justice concerning prosecutive action. He stated that the case was being handled by the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice and that the man who had been handling it had been transferred. Mr. BOLAN stated that he would write the Department to ascertain what they were going to do with the case.

Mr. BOLAN advised that if the case comes to trial, INS would be primarily consulted but that since the case was being handled by the Internal Security Division, INS was "out of it". However, he did not indicate that the FBI should assume primary responsibility in the case.

The NYO will maintain the case in a closed status, but will keep the Bureau advised of developments as they are received from AUSA BOLAN.

RECORDED 59

757

2 - Bureau (40-3798) (RM)
1 - New York (100-25693)

JEH:BHT
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/18/02 BY [redacted]

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b7C

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: November 28, 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: Earl Browder

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/14/01 BY [redacted]

There are attached excerpts concerning the above-captioned case taken from "The FBI Story, A Report to the People," by Don Whitehead published by Random House, 1956. These excerpts are from page(s) 270-276, 351 of the book.

The full text of the book may be found in the FBI Library.

Enclosure

40-3798-✓
NOT RECORDED

18 MAR 19 1957

66 19 1957

40-3798

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The Communists changed their "line" literally overnight after the pact was signed. The United States under the New Deal Administration was no longer "progressive"—it was an "imperialist warmonger," along with Britain and France. The new Communist theme was "Keep America Out of the Imperialist War" and "The Yanks Are Not Coming." The Party fought lend-lease to Britain and rallied against sending aid to France. The "anti-Fascist" united front became the "anti-imperialist" united front.

Comrade Earl Browder, the Communist Party's General Secretary, asked, "What reason is there to believe that an Allied victory will bring anything better to the world than a German victory?"

But when Germany turned on Russia it was another story. The Communists flipflopped back again. The war that was "unjust" on June 21, 1941, became a "just" war on June 22. The war of the "imperialist warmongers" became "a mighty people's crusade against fascism and oppression." The fronts organized to mobilize the people for peace melted away. The anti-imperialist leagues disappeared. In their place emerged the "fronts" for unity, for a second front, and for all-out aid to Great Britain, China and the Soviet Union.

The Party lost some 20,000 disillusioned members who saw in the flipflopping the Party's dedication to Soviet Russia and to communism rather than the American ideals of freedom. But with the old "united front" reestablished, and with the United States at war, the Party's membership climbed to an all-time high of 80,000 members by 1944.⁴ The FBI estimated that almost 1,000,000 people knowingly or unknowingly had been drawn into Communist-front activity. The Communists themselves boasted that for every member of the Party there were ten others who willingly followed the Party "line."

Into and through the war years the FBI traced the twists and turns of the Communist Party and the fronts which changed their names as casually as a man changes a suit of clothes. When a front or a name had served its purpose, a fresh one was ready. For example, the Friends of Soviet Russia was organized in 1921. Through the years, to suit the condition, it became the Friends of the Soviet Union, the American Committee for Friendship with the Soviet Union, the Ameri-

Excerpt from page 270 of
"The FBI Story, A Report
to the People" by Don Whitehead

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 12/14/01 BY [Signature]

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40-3798-1
ENCLOSURE

can Council on Soviet Relations, and then the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

During the Soviet-Nazi amity, the most flagrant effort to damage the aid-to-Britain program came in June, 1941, when a Communist-inspired wildcat strike closed down the North American Aviation Corporation plant at Inglewood, California, a plant with some \$200,000,000 worth of airplane contracts.

Ignoring their national CIO leadership, plant leaders led the workers on strike with support from the state CIO organization. President Roosevelt ordered the Army to seize the plant and declared that the strike was "not a bona fide labor dispute, but a form of alien sabotage, inspired and directed by Communist forces, interested not in the advancement of labor, but in the defeat and overthrow of the United States."

After the United States and Russia became allies in the war, the Communist Party went all out in favor of a no-strike pledge. Earl Browder advocated total aid to Russia and Britain and urged "not an idle man, not an idle machine, not an idle acre."⁵

In October, 1940, Congress had passed the Voorhis Act, which required all organizations subject to foreign control to register with the Attorney General, and a month later the Communist Party of the United States of America "formally" severed its relationship with the Communist International (Comintern). The home-grown Communists could boast there was now no open link between them and Moscow. Nevertheless, the FBI's reports on Communist activities showed that the Party was following the Moscow line as faithfully as ever.

But a crisis was building in the Communist Party in America. Stalin dissolved the Comintern in June, 1943, as an expedient to win closer ties with the Western Allies. And immediately after this decision the FBI noted feverish activity among the Communist leaders in New York and other cities. Word went out to confidential informants to find out what was happening.

The informants reported that the Party's National Committee had ordered a study of the possibility of dissolving the Party and reorganizing under another name. Browder and other leaders felt that it would be in line with Moscow's friendship front to drop the word "party" from their name. Under another name, they reasoned, there would be a better chance of winning broad support from labor and other groups throughout the country. And besides, the informants said, the dissolution had been ordered by the Comintern before it was dissolved.

This was the state of the Party when President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Premier Stalin met at Teheran in De-

ember, 1943, to pledge a united fight against the Axis to the end, and cooperation in the postwar reconstruction. Again the American Communist leaders went into huddles to interpret the meaning of this agreement in relation to their own program.

Browder concluded that the Teheran agreement meant there must be friendly coexistence between capitalism and communism in the postwar world, and that the idea of a socialist revolution in the United States should be abandoned. He declared, "If J. P. Morgan supports this coalition and goes down the line for it, I as a Communist am prepared to clasp his hand on that and join with him to realize it."

At a mass meeting in New York on January 10, 1944, Browder proposed that the Party's name be changed from the Communist Party of the United States of America to the American Communist Political Association. This Association would work within the two-party political system, lending support to candidates on the nonpartisan basis of issues and not party affiliation.⁶

But the Browder interpretation of Teheran wasn't the interpretation made by William Z. Foster, who wrote the National Committee that big business couldn't be trusted to cooperate with the workers. He also challenged the Browder concept of soft-pedaling socialism in the postwar world. Communist leaders out in the districts were demanding to know whether the Browder "line" meant that the no-strike pledge was to carry over into the postwar years.

Again the FBI noticed unusual excitement among the Party's leadership. An informant reported that a top-secret meeting of the National Committee's Political Bureau had been called to discuss the Teheran agreement and the Foster letter. The meeting was certain to be one of the most important held by the Party in several years.

Soon the agents learned that a woman, acting for the Party, had rented a room at a midtown New York studio for a meeting to be held from 10:00 A.M. until 10:00 P.M. on February 8. The woman didn't disclose to the management that she was the agent for the Communist Party.

The studio was one used by professional and amateur singers and musicians for making recordings. There were several rooms wired for recordings and two unwired practice rooms which sometimes were rented to discussion groups and societies. The Party had reserved Room 11, one of the practice studios.

Once they knew the meeting place, the FBI agents went to work. They reserved Room 11 from 8:00 A.M. to 10:00 A.M. on February 8 and arranged to rent the adjoining room, Studio 14, for the entire day. If anyone looked at the FBI reservations, it appeared that Studio 14 was to be used by various musical groups throughout the day and into the night.

Two hours before the Communist meeting, agents carrying musical instruments walked into Studio 11, and while some of them beat out a ragtime tune, others swiftly removed the acoustical drapes from the wall adjoining Studio 14 and began the installation of a microphone.

A hole was drilled into the wall deep enough to allow the microphone to fit flush with the wall surface, and the lead wire was passed through the wall into Studio 14, where other agents tied it into a recording machine. A thin layer of cheesecloth was wrapped around the front of the microphone and the rough edges of plaster were covered with plaster of paris. A slight layer of the plaster of paris was daubed on the cheesecloth. To anyone looking at the wall, it appeared that a steam pipe above the microphone had at one time gone through the wall at that point and the hole had since been patched over. The wall drapes were replaced as they were before—nailed to the ceiling and the floor. The "musicians" closed their instrument cases and left.

At 11:00 A.M. people began drifting into Studio 11. Among them were Browder and Foster and Eugene Dennis and Sam Darcy and Abram Flaxer and Robert Minor and James Ford and Ben Davis and Ella Reeve "Mother" Bloor and more than a score of others whose names were well known to those who followed the trail of communism.

The voice of Foster came through the microphone to agents in Studio 14:

... it is not necessary for me to stand up here and recite to you the many splendid achievements or splendid contributions that Comrade Browder has made to the life of our Party . . . But I think Comrade Browder . . . is also subject to making a mistake . . .

Foster ripped into Browder's suggestion that capitalism and communism could collaborate in the postwar world. He derided the notion that capitalism could be "progressive" or that there could be collaboration between the classes.

"Let us have no illusions," Foster said, "that Teheran has abolished the class struggle in the United States." He ended his long argument by accusing Browder of painting a picture of "flourishing capitalism" made to flourish by the support of the Soviet Union.

"I just want to say," he added, ". . . that all the help that the capitalist system of the world will get from the Soviet Union you could put in your small tooth in the long run . . ."

Foster saw the future clearly. He well knew that Moscow had not abandoned the class struggle and never would. But among the thirty-five people in the room that day there was only one—Darcy—who supported Foster.

While the argument over Teheran dragged on through the day,

"musicians" were entering and leaving Studio 14 next door. Each time the door was opened there was the blare of a hot trumpet, the wail of a saxophone or the tinny sound of an old piano. Every agent in New York who could play a musical instrument had been drafted that day to act in the drama of Studio 14.

The meeting disclosed the split in the Communist leadership and alerted the FBI to watch for another flipflop in the Party line, now that they knew Browder and Foster were at odds.

The Browder "line" prevailed. The Party was dissolved in May, 1944, and its place was taken by the Communist Political Association, which proclaimed its willingness to cooperate with "progressive capitalism." This was the most popular front ever devised by the Communist leadership, as it publicly pledged cooperation with the Administration's domestic and foreign policies.

But even as the Communists were playing a theme of close harmony with capitalism and avoiding talk of the class struggle, the Soviet espionage apparatus was busily at work. Men like Klaus Fuchs and Harry Gold and Julius Rosenberg and the Washington subversive underground in government were passing secrets to Soviet agents and to Russian diplomats. The diplomats had complete freedom of movement throughout the United States, a privilege not granted American diplomats in Russia.

The wartime atmosphere of friendship with Russia opened the way for the Communists to pursue their activities with a freedom that many times bordered on arrogant disregard of United States laws. Some Russian diplomats were known by the FBI to be linked with the Soviet espionage apparatus. At times they were strong-arm bully-boys actually taking part in kidnapings.

One such kidnaping occurred in San Francisco in 1943. San Francisco police walking their water-front beat at dawn on October 7 saw four or five men beating a struggling captive as they dragged him aboard the Russian freighter *Leonid Krusin*. The captive was Alexander S. Egorov, a young Russian seaman who had jumped ship in 1942 and hidden on a chicken farm in Oregon. The Soviet Consulate had reported the escape and U. S. Immigration authorities had found Egorov. He told them he had fled to escape the Communist dictatorship which had shot his father and thrown his mother into a concentration camp. The Immigration authorities allowed him to leave San Francisco aboard a Norwegian ship, but when the vessel docked in Oregon, Egorov slipped away again.

This time the Russians themselves tracked down Egorov. They caught him in San Francisco and dragged him, struggling, aboard the freighter. The FBI began an investigation, but the State Department

ruled that the Bureau did not have jurisdiction in the case. An officer of the Immigration Service boarded the freighter two days after Egorov was shanghaied. He found the youth who pointed to Yakov Lomakin, the Soviet Consul General,⁷ as one of the men who had kidnaped and beaten him. The official report said of the shipboard meeting:

Egorov was brought to the room under guard to be interviewed. He was wearing trousers and an undershirt. His shoulders were badly bruised and his body bore other marks of severe manhandling. He was obviously frightened and in great fear of his life. Egorov said that he had been attacked two days before by four or five men, one of whom was Lomakin. He said that he had been dragged aboard the ship. He stated that he did not want to depart from the United States and that he feared for his life. He begged the United States officials to take him from the ship.

But Lomakin claimed that he, personally, already had signed the captive aboard as a "crew member." The freighter sailed the next day.

The report concluded: "Egorov broke down and sobbed when the United States authorities left the vessel . . . He is obviously sailing to certain death."

It was almost five years before the public heard of the Egorov kidnaping. This incident and the desertion of other Soviet seamen in United States ports during the war impelled Hoover to write Attorney General Biddle in November, 1944, and say:

I believe that these individuals who leave the service of the Soviet Union because of political reasons are bona fide political refugees, and to turn them back into the custody of the Soviets is to turn them back to certain death. Because of their status as bona fide refugees they deserve at least a temporary haven in the United States and an opportunity to leave this country to proceed to a permanent haven or refuge of their choice.

On the national scene, the Browder policy of collaboration began to wear thin during the United Nations Conference in San Francisco in April, 1945, when the United States and Communist delegations clashed over the seating of members.⁸ At this time, also, the French Communist leader, Jacques Duclos, after a visit to Moscow, wrote an article for a French Communist journal in which he criticized Browder for leading the American Communists down a path of "revisionism." He explained to the comrades why Browder was wrong in dissolving the Party and organizing the Communist Political Association.

Duclos said:

Earl Browder drew from the [Teheran] Conference decisions erroneous conclusions in no wise flowing from a Marxist analysis of the situation. Earl Browder made himself the protagonist of a false concept of the ways

of social evolution in general, and in the first place, the social evolution of the U. S. . . .

And he added:

... one is witnessing a notorious revision of Marxism on the part of Browder and his supporters, a revision which is expressed in the concept of a long term class peace in the United States, of the possibility of the suppression of the class struggle in the postwar period and of establishment of harmony between labor and capital.

The voice of Duclos was recognized by the American Communists as the voice of authority. The same men who had supported Browder in the meeting in Studio 11 now turned against him. Browder was voted out as General Secretary and Foster stepped into the Party leadership. The Communist Political Association was tossed aside and the Communist Party of the United States of America was reestablished in July, 1945. The Party was back in business at the old stand.

In gathering intelligence information on the Communists, the FBI was in a position to see how a few Party members could influence the actions of a great number of people merely by being in key positions. An example of this happened in 1943, when the CIO held its national convention in Philadelphia at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel.

FBI agents discovered that the Communist Party had set up headquarters in the St. James Hotel, where a member of the Party's National Committee huddled with the Party faction leaders to determine their strategy and tactics and discuss the CIO's executive board decisions. After the convention's resolutions committee had approved the resolutions to be placed before the delegates, the only existing rough drafts were brought to the Communist Party's command post.

The rough drafts were read to the National Committeeman, who changed the phrasing of some and then gave instructions on the sequence in which the resolutions should be presented to the convention in order to get the emphasis desired by the Party. After the rough drafts were changed, they were sent to the printers.

*Excerpt from page 276 of
"The FBI Story, A Report
to the People" by Don Whitehead*

⁵ On October 23, 1939, Browder was arrested for a passport violation and on the following day was released on bail. While free, he carried on an active campaign as the Communist Party candidate in the 1940 Presidential elections. He was subsequently convicted in federal court and sentenced to serve a prison term of four years and pay \$2,000 in fines. This conviction was upheld by the Supreme Court, and on March 27, 1941, he began serving his term at the Atlanta Penitentiary. On May 16, 1942, President Roosevelt commuted Browder's sentence.

Excerpt from page 351

F B I

Date: 2/27/57

Transmit the following message via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

EARL BROWDER
SM-C; PERJURY

Subject was interviewed by MIKE WALLACE on program "Night-beat" 2/26/57, on station WABD-TV, NYC. BROWDER denied conspiratorial nature of Communist Party (CP) while he was its head. He said that while he was head of CP it was independent political party in America which consulted with other Communist Parties in Russia and elsewhere in the world. When asked why he broke with the Party he stated he was too independent and inferred he would not follow Soviet dictates to the CPUSA. He mentioned that prior to being relieved of leadership of CP, a letter was received from the CP of France (DUCLOS letter) which set the CP line which he understood was dictated by the Soviets. He said CP of France served as the official source to CP's throughout the world from CP Soviet Union.

BROWDER said he felt the CPUSA is not a menace today and is a helpless, pathetic group. BROWDER denied ever meeting or corresponding with STALIN, yet he admitted that while he was head of CPUSA he attended high-level conferences in Russia where he sat next to STALIN. BROWDER denied having any knowledge of Soviet espionage activities while he was head of CP. He said the comments made by ELIZABETH BENTLEY about his knowledge of espionage activities were lies.

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BROWDER said he is no longer a Communist and considers himself a Socialist. He considers himself a good American. During this interview with WALLACE, BROWDER complained that in all past interviews he has had, the interviewers were opinionated. They approached him with the idea of getting from him what they thought he should say and not with the idea of getting his story. He said he has a lot to tell if he can tell his own story.

RECORDED - 51

KELLY

4 FEB 28 1957

3 - BUREAU (RM)
1 - NY 100-4931 (CPUSA) (19)
1 - NY 100-25693 (20-9)

WPD:HC (20-9)

Mr. Belmont

(7)
64 MAR 1 1957Approved: W. J. T. S.
Special Agent in Charge

SUBJ. CONTROL

SIX

Sent _____ M Per _____

11.6
FBI
Date 2/28/57

Mr. Tolson	<input checked="checked" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nichols	<input checked="checked" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Boardman	<input checked="checked" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Belmont	<input checked="checked" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input checked="checked" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Parsons	<input checked="checked" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input checked="checked" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tamm	<input checked="checked" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Trotter	<input checked="checked" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nease	<input checked="checked" type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input checked="checked" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Holloman	<input checked="checked" type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input checked="checked" type="checkbox"/>

Transmit the following message via Air-tel

Registered

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

EARL BROWDER
IS-C

[redacted] reported on following conversation she overheard at NYS CP Office, 2/27/57:

One CHICK MASON spoke of the recent interview of EARL BROWDER on the Mike Wallace Television Show. He stated that he had never heard of BROWDER doing anything that was detrimental to the CP. At this point LEONA EDINBURG spoke up and said that a few others had listened to the interview and they liked it. She said "At least we liked it here on the 6th floor but I can't say that for the 7th floor."

NY State CP Office occupies the sixth floor of the Jefferson School of Social Science Building and the National CP Office occupies the seventh floor.

[redacted] asked MASON if he thought that BROWDER would want to come back into the CP, and MASON said that that was why he was at CP Headquarters. He said he wanted to see EUGENE DENNIS and talk over the idea with him and then he said that he had changed his mind and thought that talking to DENNIS might not be the right thing to do.

3. Bureau (RM)
1 - NY 100-26603 (CP, USA, District II) (12-8)
1 - NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) (#19)
1 - NY 100-179231 (JOHN GATES) (#19)
1 - NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)

1 - NY 100-13335 (CHICK MASON) (20-11)
1 - NY 100-104950 (LEONA EDINBURG) (12-15)
1 - NY 100-25693 (20-9)

RECORDED - 51

40-3798-759

JAH:AJW
(12)

Mr. Belmont

8 MAR 1 1957

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0-1 m/s 7-6 repr.
5/13/57
JAH:AJW

b6
b7C

64 MAR 1 1957

wm

J. K. [Signature]
cc: R. [Signature]

SUBV. CONTROL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/99 BY [redacted]

As the conversation continued, JOHN GATES came in and shook hands with MASON and MASON stated he thought that GATES was just the one he wanted to talk to. At this point, MASON and GATES left the room together. EDINBURG then stated that "some of us" will be glad to consider taking BROWDER back into the Party.

MASON believed to be author of "Source of Our Dilemma" appearing in October, 1956 edition of "Party Voice."

KELLY

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. NICHOLS *100-3-4-1594*

DATE 3-5-57

b6
b7CFROM : L. E. SHORT *100-3-4-1594*SUBJECT: BENJAMIN GITLOW
Internal Security - C
Bufile 61-1544ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/14/01 BY [redacted]EARL BROWDER
(40-3798)Communist Party U. S. A.
100-3-4

An indexing project has been completed involving documents furnished by Benjamin Gitlow covering his knowledge of the Communist Party U. S. A. in the 1920's and early 1930's. This material was furnished to the Bureau by the New York Office by letter dated 3-26-43 (100-3-4-1594). There are 2,675 documents involved.

For record purposes a copy of this memorandum will be placed in the main case file on 32 of the most prominent individuals mentioned in the documents. On each copy of this memorandum will be listed the document numbers on which the information concerning these prominent individuals appears. It is felt that this is necessary because it is not logical to add cross reference cards to our index today on such old material.

RECOMMENDATION:

1. That the attached plastiplate be approved.
2. That each copy be routed to the pertinent section of the Domestic Intelligence Division for the interest of the substantive case supervisor.

LML:vk
(32)

100-3-4-1594 Enclosure, Document Numbers: 32; 34; 35; 51; 52; 54; 66; 70; 80; 81; 186; 234; 237; 238; 242; 267; 281; 349 pages 44, 152, 154; 679; 694; 698; 757; 783; 1660; 1765; 2291; 2569.

NOT RECORDED
156 MAR 15 1957

53 MAR 21 1957

Office Me

um • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

DATE: 5/17/57

J. J. K.
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM-C; PERJURY

Re O-1 dated 5/13/57.

On 5/16/57, AUSA, SDNY THOMAS A. BOLAN advised SA BERNARD T. McCABE that he had inquired of the Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. regarding prosecutive action in this case about 5 or 6 months ago but had not received a reply. AUSA BOLAN stated he would direct a letter to the Department on 5/20/57 requesting a decision from the Department concerning prosecutive action in this case. He stated he would advise the NYO of the Department's decision as soon as he received it.

The NYO will set up a 45 day tickler to recontact AUSA BOLAN in order to determine whether the Department has rendered a decision concerning prosecution in this case.

2 - Bureau (40-3798) (RM)
1 - New York (100-25693) (7-4)

BTMcC:RML
(3)

RECORDED: 12 / 76°

23 MAY 20 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/99 BY [redacted]

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b7c

Mr. Durland

May 29, 1957

Airtel

SAC, New York (100-25693)

EARL RUSSELL BRODWER, SECURITY MATTER - C, PERJURY.

Reur airtel dated February 27, 1957, regarding interview of Browder by Mike Wallace on Station WABD-TV, New York City, on February 26, 1957.

Wallace has announced he now plans to interview Browder on his nationally televised program, Sunday evening, June 2, 1957. Your office should be alert for Browder's comments on this program. Immediately advise Bureau re information furnished by Browder of pertinence to captioned matter and other matters in which Bureau may have an interest. In the event any pertinent information is received, prior to the broadcast, bearing upon the interview, promptly advise the Bureau.

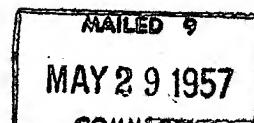
Hoover

40-3798

NOTE:

Browder was general secretary of CP during early 1940s and was expelled in 1945 after publication of the Duclos letter. Browder is subject of perjury investigation based on his testimony under oath that his wife was never member of CP. This matter presently under consideration by Department in regard to prosecution. Wallace broadcast being monitored at Bureau.

PRD/pjm
(4)



RECORDED-116

4-325-761
3 MAY 31 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/99 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

Mail Room

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: June 3, 1957

FROM : MR. J. F. BLAND

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
PERJURYALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/17/01 BY [redacted]

Nelson
 Nichols
 Boardman
 Belmont
 Mohr
 Parsons
 Rosen
 Tam b6
 Trott b7C
 Neas
 Tele. Room
 Holloman
 Gandy

SYNOPSIS:

On 6-2-57, Earl Browder, former Communist Party leader, interviewed by Mike Wallace on television. Browder said eventually American democratic socialism will develop. He said we should be bolder in dealings with Russia and compared Nikita Khrushchev with Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson. He claimed that when he led Communist Party (CP) it was respected by Americans. Stated many die-hard members would leave Party if Government ceased its persecutions of CP members. Stated he is supported by social security retirement and is writing a book on re-examination of Marxism. Denied that his wife had been a communist. Stated he has not given detailed information about Party because people want such information for their own use. Said in event of war between Russia and USA, his sympathies would be "here." Browder presently under indictment on perjury charge for testimony at deportation hearing that wife never a CP member. Has been uncooperative when interviewed and before Congressional committees.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. This is for your information.

RECORDED .9
INDEXED .9

40-3778-763
NOT RECORDED

5 JUN 5 1957

1 - Mr. Nichols
 1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - Mr. Bland
 1 - Mr. Durland
 1 - Mr. Rozamus

PRD: MJR: fjb
(6)

62 JUN 13 1957

NOTE: 1. 2 mem in 1 interview
2. not in interview

78
SUBV. CONTROL

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

DETAILS:

On 6-2-57, Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party, USA, was interviewed on a national television show by Mike Wallace, who conducts a weekly interview program. Browder, in reply to Wallace's question, replied that eventually an American democratic socialism will develop. He said that although Khrushchev is preaching peaceful coexistence we should not let our guard down but be bolder in our efforts to find a peaceful understanding with Russia. He compared Nikita Khrushchev with Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson stating both are tough, able and self-made men. In reply to Wallace's statement that Browder is considered dangerous by American people because of (1) statements by the Director that communism stands for destruction, (2) court decisions and (3) the acts of the Rosenbergs, Browder replied that none of these applied to his doings because he led the CP when it was looked up to by the American people. Browder tried to explain that the CP under his leadership favored the Hitler-Stalin Pact in 1939 and then favored only Russia in 1941 because the majority of Americans also had those views. Browder, in response to Wallace's question as to being a good American in view of draft evasion in 1917, his conviction for passport fraud in 1940, and the FBI's warnings about communism, said his acts did not involve moral turpitude or injury to anyone and were acts majority of Americans did not consider wrong at that time. Wallace remarked that the CP has been losing 500 members monthly and asked why the die-hards remain in the Party. Browder replied that they resent being pushed around, having to flee from persecution and they desire to protect the underdog. Wallace quoted Browder having said last week that William Z. Foster is an evil man and asked if Party members would leave CP if invited out. Browder said the Government should stop persecutions and take the attitude of accepting communism as shown by the French and Italian Governments.

Browder said he is supported by social security retirement and is presently writing a book on re-examination of Marxism, which will bring him in disrepute with orthodox Marxists. Browder admitted that his three sons never became communists stating this was so because his wife did not believe having pre-high school children indoctrinated in any political philosophies and before they became of high-school age, he was no longer in the Party. Browder, when asked if his wife was ever a communist, replied "No." Wallace challenged the reply pointing out that there is documentary evidence

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

that she did work "here on the 9th floor with you" and was pictured at communist meetings and was in Russia. Browder remarked that if he hadn't been expelled from the Party, he would have eventually quit.

Wallace mentioned that Victor Reisel has said Browder has information which could rip the Party wide open and asked why he doesn't make use of it. Browder replied he has been trying to do so for past ten years without success because people want to know only about the past activities of other Party members and not what his views really are but what they want him to express.

Browder commented that he was never in any conspiracy. When asked what his sympathies would be in the event of war with Russia and this country, Browder replied "here."

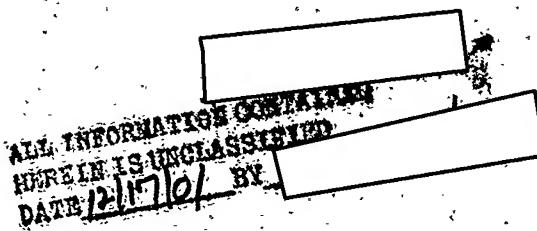
Bufiles reflect Browder is presently under indictment on a perjury charge based upon his testimony at a deportation hearing regarding his wife that she was never a member of the CP. This matter is presently under consideration by the Department and no trial date has been set. Browder has been interviewed on numerous occasions by the Bureau and the press and has appeared before Congressional committees. He has refused to furnish pertinent details regarding his activities.

It is noted Browder's wife died in 1955. Immigration and Naturalization Service charges of CP membership on the part of Browder's wife based on her working at CP headquarters and her presence at high level CP meetings. With respect to Browder's statement that CP-members would leave the Party if the Government would stop persecuting them, it is noted as evidence to the contrary the Director in an article appearing in "This Week" magazine issue of November 1, 1953, urged the Communists to come in as good citizens and furnish information in their possession. Regarding the interview, Browder appeared very careful in his answers and displayed the same vagueness and evasiveness in answering questions regarding his past activities as he has previously exhibited.

2/2/57 - Memoribits - Recording of Earl Browder's
interview on Mike Wallace's TV
interview program Channel 7 Washington

10 P.M. 6/2/57

- P.R. Durand



40-3798-763

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Office M

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GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

DATE: 6/14/57

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM-C; PERJURY113
J
Remyairtel 6/3/57 which summarized the MIKE WALLACE
interview of BROWDER on 6/2/57.113
J
Enclosed herewith are the original and one copy of
the transcript of the entire interview of BROWDER.2 - Bureau (40-3798) (ENCS. 2) (RM)
1 - New York (100-25693) (7-4)

BTM:RML

(3)

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ENCS. (2) FOR BUREAU
BF 40-3798
NY 100-25693

ORIGINAL AND ONE COPY OF TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW OF EARTH
BROWDER BY MIKE WALLACE ON 6/2/57

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TV INTERVIEW OF EARL BROWDER

MIKE WALLACE Interview of EARL BROWDER, 10 P.M.
Sunday, June 2, 1957

Introductory Remarks by MIKE WALLACE

Today we go after the story of a man who for 15 years was the head of the Communist Party in the United States, you see him behind me in his heyday. His name is EARL BROWDER. He comes from an old line American family. In 1945, EARL BROWDER was unceremoniously thrown out of the Party for preaching cooperation with capitalism. If you are curious to know what EARL BROWDER thinks of the prophesy made today by NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV that our grandchildren will live under socialism, If you want to know why EARL BROWDER asserts that he has always been a good American, what he knows of Communist espionage and why he said "Getting thrown out of the Communist Party was the best thing that ever happened to me," we'll try to get these stories in just one minute.

Commercial

And now to get to our story. EARL BROWDER was boss of American communism when the Communist Party in the United States was at its strongest, for the 15 crucial years between 1930 and 1945. Tonight we are going to find out something about EARL BROWDER, about his beliefs, his regrets and about communism.

Q - Question {MIKE WALLACE}
A - Answer {EARL BROWDER}

Q: Mr. BROWDER, the head of the Soviet Union, NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV told the United States via television this afternoon, the following. He said I can prophesy that your grandchildren in America will live under socialism. Do you agree?

A: Yes and no. I do not agree with KHRUSHCHEV's idea that we will live under socialism as he knows it and understands it.

Q: What is KHRUSHCHEV's brand of socialism?

A: The Soviet brand of socialism is that which has grown out of a backward country and has carried over a large part

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DATE 5/6/97 BY [redacted]

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of the political backwardness of the country as it inherited. America, if and when it comes to a socialist system of society, will have an entirely different kind, it will grow out of the most advanced society in the world, and will reflect that in the type of socialism. It will be democratic socialism.

Q: We will have the vote, we will have freedom, it will not grow out of force and violence?

A: Yes, I can't possibly foresee any future system in America, that would not be essentially Jeffersonian, it would be democratic.

Q: Mr. BROWDER, KHRUSHCHEV made a plea today for peaceful co-existence between American capitalism and Russian communism, an exchange of business ideas, easier trade restrictions, cultural exchanges. Now tell me sir isn't that more or less the program that you preached as head of the Communist Party here in 1944 and did that not lead to your being thrown out of the Communist Party a year later?

A: Yes, that is true to a certain degree, although I even then all these years ago was preaching something more than he said today. I was also preaching then that America was a very progressive country and that this was the reason why we could expect America to do its part in such a cooperative relationship.

Q: Mr. KHRUSHCHEV's statement today about peaceful co-existence, did it make you feel like "I told you so" or did it make you feel rather that you'd like to get back into the party now and go back to work?

A: It did give me not the slightest feeling of going back into the party, that is some 12 years too late. It did give me the feeling that Mr. KHRUSHCHEV was trying to do a serious job in promoting the relaxation of tensions between the two countries and to begin to approach some important agreements with America?

Q: Why?

A: I think they have learned that the cold war is just as disadvantageous to them as it is to the rest of the world. I think they are suffering from it and I think that they would like to have a little relaxation.

Q: Under those circumstances, Mr. BROWDER, are you suggesting that we do relax a little bit, let down our guard?

A: Well no, I do not. I think, however, we should have more confidence in ourselves. I do not think we should be so jittery. I think that we should be rather bold in the conduct of negotiations looking towards relaxation of tensions.

Q: Well now, inasmuch as there is such an argument going on about the President's budget right now, do you think that what Mr. KHRUSHCHEV said today should reasonably lead men in the Congress of the United States to say "You see, there is an opportunity here for a little relaxation, we can cut our defenses just a little bit because there is an honest effort of good will on the part of the Russians." Do you believe that?

A: I believe there is a practical proposition, just as cold bloodily estimating what is likely to happen, I don't think that these talks will change much about what is actually being done. There is a potential for the future, however. It is great. The real relaxation of tensions will greatly help us in this country in the way of reducing budgets, just as it will help KHRUSHCHEV. Relaxation of tensions means both countries will have more resources to turn to peaceful purposes.

Q: Let us draw an opinion of the man KHRUSHCHEV. Do you believe him?

A: I believe that he is trying to do a job in the direction of relaxing the tensions of the world. I believe him in that sense. There are lots of things he says I don't believe.

Q: How is this?

A: I was quite astonished at one of his remarks this afternoon, but first of all I should say that he makes the impression upon me as one of these men very similar to a corporation executive in the United States who has grown up from the bottom. One of these tough men. Very self-confident and to a certain extent limited in his intellectual outlook, but very able. He made me think as I looked at him of our own CHARLIE WILSON.

Q: I am not sure that Mr. WILSON would like to be compared to him.

A: I am speaking of the general type of character.

Q: Yes, of course.

A: And he also made me think of that when he gave that answer to one of the correspondents about Hungary, because certainly it was a rather unfortunate thing for him to have given the variation of the answer about the Hungarian regime lasting for a thousand years was it?

Q: He said for ages.

A: But it was the same note that was struck by the spokesman of the Third Reich.

Q: You do not believe that the Kadar (PH) Regime would remain, would have remained and would now remain without the presence of Soviet troops and Soviet tanks.

A: I think Mr. KHRUSHCHEV would have said the same thing about the Rakoczy (PH) Regime, which just disappeared about 8 or 10 months ago. Disappeared overnight, leaving not a single person in the world willing to say a good word for it.

Q: Mr. BROWDER, now let us come to you, yourself sir. In view of the fact that you were a Communist, that you devoted at least 25 years of your life to strengthening communism in the United States, what do you believe most of the people watching you tonight think of you, what kind of man do you think they believe you to be?

A: I think most people have been thoroughly convinced that EARL BROWDER is a very dangerous man, particularly because he was a leader of the Communist Party when it was strong, and completely unimpressed by the fact that for the past 12 years when the Communist Party has come into disrepute, I had nothing whatever to do with the Communist Party.

Q: Well, let us try to find out why they feel the way they do about EARL BROWDER. We have statements from FBI Chief, J. EDGAR HOOVER that American communism "stands for the destruction of our American form of government", we have the verdict of our courts in 1949 when 11 top Communist leaders

were convicted of secretly conspiring for the overthrow of the government by force and violence, we have the cases of convicted atom spies JULIUS and ETHEE ROSENBERG, just to name a few events, linked with the Communist Party under your leadership. Now in view of all this, can you blame the American people for regarding you, sir, with something less than affection?

A: Well, first of all I say the things you cite are in no way connected with me, and during the period I was the secretary of the Communist Party, the Communist Party grew in public esteem. For example, in 1945, just a few months before the Communists threw me out as their enemy, the American Bar Association invited me to appear on a nation-wide radio hook-up under its sponsorship to debate, not to debate, to discuss the question before the United Nations First Assembly, the question of the veto. Now certainly if the American Bar Association took it for granted that I was a natural person to be invited, I was not in great disrepute.

Q: Well now Mr. BROWDER

A: Not it was from the party that (interrupted by MIKE WALLACE)

A: It is this disrepute that has come since

Q: Let's be perfectly sensible, sir, you were JOSEPH STALIN's man, I believe it was EUGENE LYONS in the "Red Decade" who said that EARL BROWDER needed but one vote to be made head of the Communist Party in the United States of America and that was STALIN's vote, and certainly over a period of years you flipped and flopped with the Moscow line so many times and in so many ways that I don't believe it would serve any real purpose to recount them now. Perhaps the most significant of the flops was doing everything you could to urge that we do not come to the aid of, let me put it this way, that in 1939, in September of 39 when the STALIN-HITLER Pact was put into effect, you did everything that you could to keep us from coming to the aid of our allies. In 1941, when HITLER marched on STALIN, you made a complete flop. First of all it was "the Yanks are not coming" then it was "the Yanks are not coming too late."

A: Yes, sir that's very interesting and it would be well if everyone would understand that history a little better. It is not so important that I said "the Yanks are not coming" in 1940; what was really important was the voice of the President of the United States who solemnly pledged to the mothers of America in his Music Hall speech in Brooklyn just before the election, that if he was elected he would not send their sons to fight any war in Europe.

Q: And I dare say that his motives, FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT's and EARL BROWDER's motives were entirely different. Now Mr. BROWDER (interrupted by EARL BROWDER).

A: I don't totally agree with that.

Q: What? You say, you told me this before, you said that you are a good American, a loyal American and that you have done good for your country. Let us look at your personal attitude towards America. In 1917, you were sent to jail for a year for draft dodging, first for refusing to register for the draft and later for failure to observe the draft laws. In 1940, you were sentenced....

A: (Interrupting MIKE WALLACE) There was no dodging there Mr. WALLACE.

Q: It depends upon how you look at it. In 1940 you were sentenced to 4 years in jail for a passport fraud, and in addition to breaking the law, you apparently have little respect for our court decisions and warnings by the FBI that we have been in danger of subversion. If you are now and always have been a loyal American, as you say and have said many times, how do you justify this contempt for American law and American authority?

A: I do not have contempt for American law and American authority. In 1917, for example, what I got into trouble about was the fact that I was trying to defend the American Constitution against those who were revising it outside the due process by enacting the draft law. That's not an issue I want to fight over again, but I want to point out that I was one of those who probably represented a majority of Americans at that time who thought it was a mistake for America to get into the European war.

Q: And as far as the passport was concerned, did you not use among other names, the name of one of the master spies of the Soviet Union, NICHOLAS DOZENBERG, in getting yourself to Russia.

A: - - - - - that whole question is best summed up by a passage from the government's brief to the Supreme Court in my case which said that the government did not charge BROWDER with anything that involved moral turpitude, the injuring of any American citizen or the injuring of the American government, that it was a purely technical charge.

Q: In that particular case, sir, but certainly there have been numerous government officials over the years that have charged you with much much worse than moral turpitude if you will, and have charged you with endangering the American people and the life and welfare of this country.

A: No one has ever made any official charges against me along that line, and if they had, they wouldn't be able to sustain it.

Q: Mr. BROWDER, since the Russian display of bloodshed in suppressing the Hungarian revolt and KHRUSHCHEV's disclosure of STALIN's corruption as well, the Communist Party in the United States, according to some reports is losing as many as 500 disillusioned members a month. Let us talk about the Communist Party today in the United States. How do you account for the diehards who remain in the Party?

A: I would say that most of them are people who would have gotten out of the party long ago if it hadn't been for the pressure of the government cases against the party and its leaders which they considered to be persecution, and like most of Americans, they don't like to be pushed around and don't like to run away under fire.

Q: They don't like to be pushed around and yet is it not their philosophy that they will push others around to achieve the ends which they have in their minds?

A: I doubt whether those whom I speak of have that in view.

Q: Well, let us go to the leadership of the party today. I understand that only last week, you called one of the party's top men, WILLIAM FOSTER, an evil man, who all his life has been motivated by a mania for personal power.

Does that reflect equally upon the rest of the leadership in the party? What I am trying to find out, if you can tell me, is you mean to say that the entire membership or a good share of the membership of the Communist Party in the United States would get out if they were invited out under proper circumstances?

A: I think that if it wasn't for the atmosphere that has been created that they would be running away from a situation they would have been out a long ago. I think that the support that has gathered around the Communists in the last few years has been motivated almost entirely by the sentiment of protecting the underdog against persecution. I think it is really a situation where the government's attitude towards the Communist Party has kept it in existence.

Q: Therefore the government should do what Mr. BROWDER, say "All is forgiven. Come back oh ye prodigal sons?"

A: I think the situation could be very much improved if the American government took much the same attitude towards the Communists as the French government or the Italian government. They never brought such cases there against them, although if there is a menace to Communism, you certainly will find it there where they have a quarter of the electorate behind them. In America, the Communists are so small that it is very difficult to find them at all.

Q: Mr. BROWDER what do you do now? How do you spend your time? How do you support yourself?

A: Well, I am retired now on an old age pension.

Q: Social security? Social security, given to you by the United States government?

A: Yes, yes.

Q: And I believe you get additional help from your sons?

A: Yes, that is right.

Q: And you spend your time, for instance today, I know that you watched NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV on television?

A: Yes, I watch television quite a bit. I watch ball games and I write. I am now engaged in writing a re-examination of Marxism which will bring me into a great disrepute with the Orthodox Marxists, but I think may be valuable to the rest of the world.

Q: Here's a question I would like you to think over for a moment before answering. You claim you were a devoted Communist, dedicated to spreading communism throughout the United States. If you were so convinced of its rightness, why did you, as you say you did, shield your 3 sons from Communist influence in practically every way that you could.

Commercial

And now:sir for that question I asked you a moment ago. If you were so proud of your communism, head of the party for 15 years, in it for 10 more, why did you shield your 3 sons from its influence?

A: On this question, I followed the advice of my wife, who had very pronounced views against the political indoctrination of youngsters. She had, and (interrupted by MIKE WALLACE)

Q: She was a Communist herself?

A: No, no, she was non-political.

Q: We have documentary proof, and I am sure you know the proof I am talking about, that your wife, Mrs. BROWDER, worked on the 9th floor, there along with you, had an office, had a desk; she was pictured in Communist meetings with her hand raised along side you; she worked in a tribunal in Moscow where you met her, how can you say the lady was non-political, but aside from that sir, you say that you took your wife's, you a devoted Communist (here EARL BROWDER interrupts and says, "Yes") took your wife's word and kept your 3 sons from it?

A: Yes, it was her initiative and I agreed with her. She was the one who had the strongest convictions on this question.

Q: Well evidently, there is at least some hypocrisy for a dedicated Communist to say that. Let me quote to you from your own report to the Central Committee to the 8th

Convention of the Communist Party in 1934; you said every party unit and every party committee must take as a part of its daily concrete tasks the work among the youth, the establishment of their organizations, the solution of youth's political problems and the material help to their movement, and yet you did not take your own advice. You would give this advice to Communists here and did not take it yourself?

A: As a matter of fact at the same time that I was saying that, we were dissolving the organization that was called the Pioneers, that is of youngsters below high school age and we were limiting the work among the youth only to those of high school age. By the time my boys became of high school age, I was out of the Communist Party. I might have attempted to direct them towards the Communist Party if I had still been the convinced and active Communist leader at that time, but luckily they were never connected with it so that they escaped that.

Q: Escaped that?

A: Yes, as I, by good fortune, escaped from that environment by being kicked out of it and as you quoted me in the beginning of this interview.

Q: That being thrown out of the Communist Party was the best think that ever happened to you. What do you mean by that sir?

A: I meant that the Communist Party and the old Communist movement was changing its character and in 1945 when I was kicked out, the parting of the ways had come, and if I hadn't been kicked out, I would have had the difficult task of disengaging myself from a movement that I could no longer agree with or no longer help.

Q: Well, under the circumstances that you feel the way that you do, what is your answer to this challenge to you on January 16 last by the syndicated labor columnist VICTOR RIESEL. He wrote, "There is one man who can really kick the world Communist Parties on their way down. He is EARL BROWDER. BROWDER can rip wide open the dangerous illusions some still have that the Communist Party is a party and not a plot." What about it, sir, why don't you tell what you know?

A: I have been attempting to tell what I know for the last 10 years and receiving very little encouragement. I receive a great deal of encouragement to tell what other people think they know, but I am not in the world to tell other people's stories for them. I have been given offers of considerable sums if I would sponsor with my name, articles which were actually written by other people. I am not in that kind of business. That is what most people want of me. They don't want what I really have to say. They want me to say what they would like to spread.

Q: And you sir, say that you were in the Communist Party for 25 years, you worked very closely with STALIN, the leadership of the party, and you know nothing of value that would help rip the mask from the Communist Party here and through the world?

A: Not in the sense that Mr. RIESEL says, which is the sense of the uncovering of conspiracies because I was involved in no conspiracies.

Q: May we have a one line, a one word answer to this next question and our last one. Were we to go to war with the Soviet Union, where would your sympathies lie, here or there?

A: Here.

Q: Thank you very much EARL BROWDER.

RECORDED - 31

June 12, 1957

INDEXED - 31

6-12-57 PH - 765

Mr. Philip E. Gibbs

F

919

Dear Mr. Gibbs:

Your letter of June 4, 1957, has been received, and I certainly appreciate the interest which prompted you to write.

I am indeed grateful for your kind offer of assistance, and I do hope whenever information you believe to be within the investigative jurisdiction of this Bureau comes to your attention you will contact our representatives located at 900 Standard Building, Cleveland 13, Ohio.

Many thanks for your good wishes and generous comments concerning my administration of the FBI.

Sincerely yours,

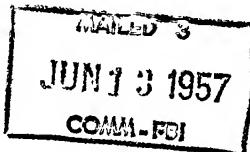
cc - Cleveland, with copy of incoming.

NOTE: Bufiles fail to contain data identifiable with correspondent or his father Colonel Harry E. Gibbs of Columbus, Ohio, on the basis of information furnished. A letter dated 9/22/38 to Honorable Robert T. Secrest, Congressman from Caldwell, Ohio, signed by Assistant Director Harold Nathan advised the Congressman on 9/20/38 Mr. Philip Gibbs and party called at the Bureau and presented a letter of introduction at which time they were conducted on a tour of the Bureau.

FBS:glj

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2 JUN 24 1957



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TRUE COPY

June 4, 1957.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
Ninth and Pennsylvania Avenues N.W.,
Washington 25, D. C.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 13/17/01 BY [redacted]

Dear Mr. Hoover,

It has been a number of years since I had the very fine pleasure of seeing and talking with you. No doubt you will not remember me, as I meet you when I was with my late father in Washington during the war years. You may recall him and his work, through this title, "Colonel Harry E. Gibbs, Director of Internal Security Fifth Service Command, Fort Hayes, Columbus, Ohio." It was on one of his trips to the Capital, that I meet you.

A good many events and years have now passed over the dam, but you and the FBI, are still the finest security force in the world today. And thank God you where born for this country and not some other.

The writing of this letter, was brought about by a television show last Sunday night, June 2, 1957, put on by Mike Wallace. The interview that he held with, "Earl Browder", one time so called head of the communist party, and in my belief, he still is a communist, even though he says he is now out. My question is just what can a person such as myself do, to help the FBI in some small way combat this type of organization within this country. In my mind I believe that men like "Browder" should be thrown out and sent back to the land that they so dearly love. You as director of the FBI has his hands tied, unless the proper laws are enacted, to do away with this type of insecurity to this country. I know how hard my father worked, to make certian that all within his command was under control. I myself have been in two Wars, to fight for what I feel is right. But I do not believe that our "Senator's" and "Congressmen" are doing you justice by not enacting the proper laws to clear our nation of this type of party. If I as a citizen can be of help to you, please let me know, in what way I may best be of service to you.

Keep up the fine job that you are now doing, and I hope this letter finds you in good health. I also hope to have the pleasure of meeting with you at some future date.

Philip E. Gibbs

/s/

Yours truly,
Philip E. Gibbs

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b7C

mcc: 6/17/57
2 copies typed 6/17/57

A check of files fails to reflect meeting of Philip E. Gibbs and unable to identify in Bureau files; however, by letter 9/22/38 to Honorable Robert T. Secrest, Member of Congress, Caldwell, Ohio, signed by Assistant Director Harold Nathan, the Congressman was advised that on 9/20/38 Mr. Philip Gibbs and party called at Bureau and presented the letter of introduction at which time they were conducted on a tour of the Bureau.

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JUR 2

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 7/3/57

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

21997

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM-C; PERJURY

Remylet, 5/17/57. 40-3177-7-1

On 6/27/57, AUSA THOMAS BOLAN, SDNY, advised SA BERNARD T. MC CABE that he had been advised orally by Mr. HALL, who is in charge of security prosecutions at the Department of Justice, that the Department had decided to drop the perjury case against BROWDER. BOLAN stated that he was told that the Department would send him a written confirmation of this decision but as of 6/27/57, he had not received it.

BOLAN also advised that BROWDER had been granted permission to travel to Phoenix, Arizona, for the purpose of visiting his two sisters (names unknown to BOLAN) and to Berkeley, California, to visit one of his sons who is employed as an instructor at the University of California at Berkeley. BROWDER plans to return to NY on or before 8/1/57.

12 (2) - Bureau (RM)
 1 - Phoenix (Info) (RM)
 1 - San Francisco (Info) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-25693)

RECORDED - 23

40-3177-766

0 JUL 5 1957

BTM:AJD

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Office Memorandum

• UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : *fr* SAC, PHOENIX

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM C; PERJURY

GIRL 11
DATE 8-6-57

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AK

40-3777-766

Re New York letter to the Bureau, dated 7-3-57.

NINA WINONA TURNER, maiden name NINA WINONA BROWDER, was born on 9-18-85, in Kansas. She is the sister of EARL BROWDER and is married to BERT A. TURNER. She presently resides at 2728 E. Amelia, Phoenix, Arizona.

The file on NINA WINONA TURNER, Bureau File No. 100-283462, Phoenix File No. 100-265D, was closed by the report of SA CHARLES L. TIGNOR, dated at Phoenix, 2-4-47. No investigation has been conducted in this matter since that time.

Information concerning the visit of EARL BROWDER to Phoenix, Arizona was furnished to the Phoenix Office by [redacted] The documentation and information is set out as follows:

b7D

Identity of Source	Date or Description of Meeting and/or Activity	Date Received	Type of Report	File Where Located
[redacted]	EARL BROWDER	7-16-57	SA FREDERIC A. BROWNELL Written	[redacted]

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who have furnished reliable information in the past

2 - Bureau RM
1 - New York (100-25693) RM
6 - Phoenix (100-890) RECORDED - 73
FAB:wma
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WCB 12 15 08 1957
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On July 7, 1957, GAYLORD SWING made the statement that he had been out to see EARL BROWDER who had been visiting his sister in Phoenix. GAYLORD SWING said he and SARA SWING, both local CP leaders in Phoenix, Arizona, had talked to BROWDER and SARA SWING had "needled" him whereupon BROWDER became quite angry at her.

Upon being asked why they, GAYLORD and SARA SWING, had gone to see EARL BROWDER, GAYLORD SWING commented that they knew his sister quite well. GAYLORD SWING stated that when BROWDER denounced the "Party" and was thrown out they had a meeting and GAYLORD SWING tried to determine why BROWDER had acted as he did. BROWDER's sister felt that GAYLORD SWING defended BROWDER, but GAYLORD SWING said he did not.

GAYLORD SWING did not say what they discussed upon visiting EARL BROWDER in Phoenix, Arizona, but said that BROWDER is writing a book on Marxism.

GIR 1

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*FEC
by
Horne*

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, PHOENIX (100-890)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM - C; PERJURY

DATE: August 14, 1957

Re Phoenix letter to Bureau, 8/6/57.

Additional information concerning the visit of EARL BROWDER to Phoenix, Arizona, has been furnished to the Phoenix Office by [redacted] The documentation and information is set out as follows:

b7D

Identity Of Source	Date or Descrip- tion of Meeting and/or Activity	Date Received	Type of Report and Agent Receiving	File Where Located
[redacted]	Re EARL BROWDER	8/7/57	SA FREDERIC A. BROWNELL (Written)	[redacted]

b3

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[redacted]
(Who have
furnished re-
liable information
in the past)

RECORDED - 4

EX-131

768
ES AUG 20 1957

CC: 2-Bureau (REGIS.)
1-New York (100-25693) (Info) (REGIS.)
5-Phoenix (100-890) (CC: [redacted])
100-2602, 100-3567

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FAB/dka
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/14/99 BY [redacted]

SUBJ/CONTROL

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PX 100-890

On July 19, 1957, SARA SWING and GAYLORD SWING (local Communist Party leaders, Phoenix, Arizona), discussed what EARL BROWDER had to say when they visited him at his sister's home in Phoenix.

SARA SWING said she asked BROWDER about the Hungarian uprising and BROWDER replied he did not like the manner in which the Russians moved in with the military to crush the revolt. SARA SWING told him it was all propaganda and differed with him about the whole situation. GAYLORD SWING commented that EARL BROWDER became quite angry and told SARA SWING he had been head of the International Committees on Propaganda and he knew what it was when he saw it and that the Russian version of the Hungarian situation is pure propaganda and nothing else. SARA SWING said she could see that BROWDER was old and confused and both she and her husband GAYLORD were unimpressed with his opinions. She said she asked BROWDER what he is doing and was told nothing and that he is living on Social Security.

Upon being asked if BROWDER is still a good Communist as outlined by Marx, GAYLORD SWING said BROWDER is still a Socialist but BROWDER had made the statement that Marx never dreamed that Capitalism would ever reach such heights of development or provide so much prosperity for so many people. He said BROWDER stated he is writing a book on Marxist theory. According to SARA and GAYLORD SWING, BROWDER and NORMAN THOMAS are good friends and SARA SWING said, "What has NORMAN THOMAS ever done?"*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (40-3798-766)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
IS-C; PERJURY

DATE: 8/22/57

W. J. W. Remylet 7/3/57, which advised that AUSA THOMAS BOLAN, SDNY, had stated the Department had decided to drop the Perjury case against BROWDER.

On 8/23/57, Miss KLEIN, Secretary to AUSA BOLAN, advised that Mr. BOLAN was on vacation and would return on 9/9/57.

The NYO will contact AUSA BOLAN on 9/9/57 or as soon as possible thereafter to determine whether the Department had confirmed in writing its decision to drop the case against BROWDER.

2 - Bureau (40-3798-766) (RM)
1 - New York (100-25693)

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23 AUG 26 1957

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Office

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VERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798-766)

DATE: 9/16/57

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
IS-C
PERJURY

Remylets 7/3/57 and 8/22/57.

On 9/12/57, AUSA THOMAS BOLAN, SDNY, advised SA WILLIAM L. MC MURRAY, JR., that, since he had received no written confirmation from the Department of Justice concerning the Department's decision to drop prosecution of BROWDER, he called the Department and was informed that the BROWDER case was still under consideration. Mr. BOLAN stated he would see to it that the NYO was advised as soon as the Department gave written notice of its decision to proceed with or drop prosecution of BROWDER.

On 9/13/57, Mr. BOLAN advised SA BERNARD T. MC CABE that, on that date, BROWDER, through O. JOHN ROGGE, his attorney, had applied for permission to make six trips to Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, during November, 1957. Mr. BOLAN stated it was his opinion that permission would be granted BROWDER to make these trips.

The NYO will maintain contact with the Office of the USA, SDNY, to insure that the Bureau is promptly advised of the Department's decision in the BROWDER case.

2 - Bureau (40-3798-766) (RM)
* - Newark (RM)
1 - NY 100-25693
1 - NY 100-95459 (O.JOHN ROGGE) (18-0) 40-3798-769X

BTM:AJD
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
5/6/99 BY [redacted]

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16 DEC 17 1957

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FBI - NEW YORK

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798-766)

DATE: 10/29/57

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM-C; PERJURY

Remylet, 9/16/57.

On 10/29/57, AUSA JEROME LONDIN, SDNY, who presently has captioned case assigned to him, advised SA THOMAS J. CROKE, JR., that the Department is presently considering dropping the case against the subject. He stated he knows nothing further about the matter as it is up to the Department concerning what action will be taken and to date he has not heard from the Department.

The NYO will maintain contact with the Office of the USA, SDNY, to insure that the Bureau is promptly advised of the Department's decision in the BROWDER case.

2 - Bureau (40-3798-766) (RM)
1 - NY 100-25693

TJC:AJD
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10 OCT 31 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/99 BY [redacted]

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SUBJ. CONFIDENTIAL

GIR 16

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : M. P. L. V. BOARDMAN 10/16/67

DATE: November 29, 1957

FROM : MR. A. W. BELMONT

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER (40-3798)
" INFORMATION CONCERNING
CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER

W.D. 2-1

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Bohrman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Nease -b6 _____
Tele. R _____
Holloman b7C _____
Gandy _____

Earl Browder, former leader of the Communist Party, USA, is reportedly employed as a lecturer at Rutgers University on "comparative economics." This would seem to add emphasis to recent widespread criticism that something is drastically wrong with our educational system and the thinking of our educators.

An Interesting Item

According to the November 30, 1957, issue of National Review, a weekly magazine, Earl Browder, former leader of the Communist Party, USA, is now employed as a lecturer on "comparative economics" at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Ford Foundation Again

With keen insight, the editor of the National Review calls attention to the fact that Browder has been employed in the past by the Ford Foundation as an "expert" on communism and apparently was able to use this as a steppingstone to his present position.

Browder Item Timely

This item about powder is especially timely in view of the controversy concerning the capability of our school system. Many questioned the efficiency of the system following recent Soviet scientific successes. The following editorial comment is typical

LLW-mal
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cc: 1 - Section Tickler
1 - L. L. Whalen
1 - M. A. Jones
1 - F. J. Baumgardner

EC 6 1957
1 - D. E. Moore 1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. Belmont _____
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Nease

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Memorandum to Mr. L. V. Boardman

Re: EAPL RUSSELL CROWDER (40-3798)
Information concerning
Central Research Matter

or the warnings issued by those who questioned the system:

"...if we continue to let Russia outstrip us educationally, we certainly will imperil our national security, our prestige before the world and our own welfare."

(The Evening Star, 11/12/57, p. A 14)

The System defended

Prominent people in the field of education rushed to defend our school system. In essence, their defense was summed up in a statement issued recently by the Commissioner of the United States Office of Education, who declared that "our best schools are still unsurpassed."

(The New York Times, 11/17/57, p. 48)

Something Drastically Wrong

Certainly Rutgers University would seem to qualify as one of the "best schools" the Commissioner mentioned. Yet it has seen fit to hire Crowder as a lecturer, despite the fact that (1) he consistently has defended his past leadership of the Communist Party, USA; (2) he has steadfastly refused to furnish information about inner-Party life and activities; and (3) he has never repudiated his basic belief in Marxism. The willingness of Rutgers University to accept this evil force into its midst and to expose the students to his type of thinking adds emphasis to the widespread criticism that something is drastically wrong with our educational system and the thinking of our educators.

RECOMMENDATION: For the information of the Director.

ER

DR

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office NEW YORK	Office of Origin NEW YORK	Date 12/20/57	Investigative Period 10/24, 25, 28; 11/5, 12-15, 18, 22, 27, 29; 12/4, 5, 10/57
TITLE OF CASE EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.		Report made by THOMAS J. CROKE, JR.	Typed By axg
		CHARACTER OF CASE SECURITY MATTER - C; PERJURY	

Synopsis:
CC TO:
REQ. REC'D 12/18/63
JAN 10 1964
ANS.
BY: *Help - as
Spec. request*

Photo
EARL BROWDER as of 12/3/57, resided at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY, and was unemployed. EARL BROWDER was interviewed by MIKE WALLACE on television on 2/26/57, and 6/2/57. During interview of 2/26/57, BROWDER denied having any knowledge of Soviet espionage activities while he was head of the CP. Source advised on 4/2/57, that MAX SHACHTMAN stated that in a conversation he had with EARL BROWDER, BROWDER agreed that the Socialist Party should be the basis for unifying the American Socialist Movement. On 10/29/57, AUSA JEROME LONDIN, SDNY, advised that the US Department of Justice is presently considering dropping the perjury case against EARL BROWDER.

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- C -

1/20/64
AGENCY
REQ. REC'D
DATE FORW.
HOW FORW.
BY

Approved <i>E.J.P.</i> Copies made: 4-Bureau (40-3798) (RM) 1-INS, NYC (RM) 1-USA, SDNY (RM) 3-New York (100-25693)	Special Agent in Charge <i>WPA</i>	Do not write in spaces below		
		10-3798	772	5-50
		<i>RECORDED - 62</i>		
		<i>DEC 26 1964</i>		
		<i>INDEXED 62</i>		

REFUGEE/ASYLUM BY
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NY 100-25693

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

A. Identification Record

The following appears in the records of the Identification Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), under FBI number 286042:

<u>Contributor of Fingerprints</u>	<u>Name and Number</u>	<u>Arrested or Received</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
United States Penitentiary Leavenworth, Kansas	Earl R. Browder #14314	July 14 1919	conspiracy	two years Paroled November 5, 1920
Police Department Detroit, Michigan	Earl Browder #38680	May 26 1930	Fugitive from justice	discharged on writ
Police Department Terre Haute, Indiana	Earl Browder #8768	September 30, 1936	vagrancy investigation	released October 1, 1936
Federal Detention Headquarters New York, New York	Earl Russell Browder, #28433	October 23, 1939	use of passport obtained by false statement	October 24, 1939 charged on bail
United States Marshal New York, New York	Earl R. Browder #C25-24	October 23, 1939	charge not given	
Federal Detention Headquarters New York, New York	Earl Russell Browder #32002	March 25 1941	Use of passport obtained under false statement	4 years - 3-26-41 tr to USP Atlanta
United States Penitentiary Atlanta, Georgia	Earl Russell Browder, #60140	March 27 1941	unlawful use of passport obtained by false statement	4 years commutation of sentence May 16, 1942

NY 100-25693

<u>Contributor of Fingerprints</u>	<u>Name & Number</u>	<u>Arrested or Received</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
DC Jail Washington DC	Earl Russell Browder #3166	December 1, 1950	T2 Sec. 192 U.S. Code (US)	no bond issued Criminal Court, 12-7-50 rel on bond
United States Marshal Washington, DC	Earl Russell Browder #1784-50	November 29, 1950	Section 192 22 United States Code	March 14, 1951, acquitted
United States Marshal, New York, New York	Earl Browder #C-1471-52	September 30, 1952	perjury	pending
Federal Deten- tion Headquarters, New York, New York	Earl Browder #64333	September 30, 1952	False state- ment Immigration Natural- ization	
BFD NY NY	Earl Russell Browder NY File #100- 25693	9-30-52	perjury Title Turned over 18 Sec 1015(a) to USM	

As Earl Browder sentenced by Federal Judge upon return of verdict of guilty to 2 years and \$1000 fine on one count of indictment and 2 years and \$1000 fine on other count - sentence to run consecutively; bail of \$7500 continued until January 25, 1940.

B. Residence

On March 26, 1957, T-1 advised that EARL BROWDER, as of that date, resided at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York.

On December 3, 1957, T-1 advised that EARL BROWDER resided, as of that date, at 7

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Highland Place, Yonkers, New York.

C. Employment

On January 4, 1957, T-1 advised that the subject had converted a room in his apartment into a regular office and that he appeared to be engaged full-time in writing.

EARL BROWDER was interviewed on television on June 2, 1957, by MIKE WALLACE on the program "Mike Wallace Interview".

During this interview BROWDER stated that he was retired and received Social Security benefits as well as financial aid from his sons.

"The New York Times" issue of November 12, 1957, under the heading "Doom of Tyranny Seen by Browder" reflected that EARL BROWDER had been giving a course of lectures since November 4, 1957, "in three courses in comparative economic systems at Rutgers University". According to the article, the lectures ended November 11, 1957.

On December 3, 1957, T-1 advised that the subject does not appear to be gainfully employed, as he is continually around his residence during the day. T-1 stated that he was sure that the subject is unemployed.

II. INTERVIEWS OF SUBJECT CONDUCTED BY MIKE WALLACE ON TELEVISION

A. Interview of EARL BROWDER by MIKE WALLACE on February 26, 1957

The subject was interviewed by

NY 100-25693

MIKE WALLACE on the program "Nightbeat" on February 26, 1957, on station WABD - TV, New York City.

During the interview BROWDER denied the conspiratorial nature of the Communist Party (CP) while he was its head. He said that while he was head of the CP it was an independent political party in America, which consulted with other CPs in Russia and elsewhere in the world. When he was asked why he broke with the party, he stated he was too independent and inferred he would not follow Soviet dictates to the CP, USA. He mentioned that prior to being relieved of leadership of the CP, a letter was received from the CP of France, which set the CP line which he understood was dictated by the Soviets. He said the CP of France served as the official source to CPs throughout the world from the CP Soviet Union.

BROWDER said he felt the CP, USA is not a menace today and is a helpless, pathetic group. BROWDER denied ever meeting or corresponding with STALIN, but admitted that while he was head of the CP, USA he attended high-level conferences in Russia where he sat next to STALIN. BROWDER denied having any knowledge of Soviet espionage activities while he was head of the CP.

BROWDER said he is no longer a Communist and considers himself a Socialist and a good American. BROWDER also stated that in all past interviews he has had, the interviewers were opinionated. They approached him with the idea of getting from him what they thought he should say and not with the idea of getting his story. He said he had a lot to tell if he could tell his story.

B. Reaction to the Interview of BROWDER Conducted
By MIKE WALLACE on February 26, 1957

NY 100-25693

On February 27, 1957, T-2 advised that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER stated that EARL BROWDER "was a liar" when he made the statement during the WALLACE interview that during BROWDER'S 15 years in the Party the Party had never taken orders from Moscow.

Also FOSTER said that when BROWDER stated he never received orders from STALIN he "was a liar" and that "the Comintern issued directives and didn't make any bones about it."

The "Daily Worker" issue of May 6, 1957, page 3, column 1- 5, reflected that at a meeting of the National Committee of the CP in New York City held on April 27, 28, 1957, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER was elected Chairman Emeritus, further that FOSTER was one of 20 elected to the Executive Committee described as the main policy body acting between meetings of the National Committee.

The "Daily Worker" is an East Coast Communist daily newspaper and "The Worker" is the Sunday edition.

On February 28, 1957, T-3 advised that at the New York State CP Headquarters on February 27, 1957, "CHICK" MASON mentioned watching the MIKE WALLACE show and of seeing MIKE WALLACE interviewing EARL BROWDER. "CHICK" said he had to say that he had never in any way heard of BROWDER'S doing anything that was detrimental to the welfare of the CP. He said he liked the way BROWDER handled MIKE WALLACE.

MASON said that he was at CP Headquarters to discuss the possibility that BROWDER might want to come back to the CP.

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According to T-3, when JOHN GATES entered the office and shook hands with MASON, MASON stated he thought GATES was just the one with whom he wanted to talk.

The September, 1956 issue of "Party Voice" on page 2, described "CHICK" MASON as an "old timer with a long history of activity in the Party as a 'Fraction Secretary, Branch Organizer, Section Organizer, active in peoples organizations and lately as a Section Committee member'".

The January, 1957, issue of "Party Voice" on the cover page describes itself as a bulletin issued by the New York State CP.

The "Daily Worker" dated February 13, 1957, page 1 and 2, carried an article reflecting that JOHN GATES had been elected as a member of the National Committee of the CP at the 16th National CP Convention held February 9 to 12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker" issue of February 28, 1957, page 4, column 1, under the heading "Earl Browder on Nightbeat" contains a letter to the editor in which the writer praised BROWDER for some of his comments, such as recalling "the contributions that Communists made -sometimes the major contribution in particular phases of American life, like the winning of Social Security and the passage of the Wagner Labor Relations Act."

The writer of this article also stated that he felt that it was "terribly wrong to have expelled EARL BROWDER" from the CP.

The writer also stated that he

NY 100-25693

could not "conceive of a united movement for Socialism in this country. . . which would not include Earl Browder. . ."

The "Daily Worker" issue of February 28, 1957, page 2, column 1 and 2, under the heading "Browder on TV Cites CP Contributions of His Day", contains an article that reported on EARL BROWDER'S appearance on the MIKE WALLACE show "Nightbeat" on February 26, 1957. This article summarized what transpired on the program and offered no editorial comment.

The "Daily Worker" of March 1, 1957, page 4, column 1, contains a letter to the editor entitled "Browder's Ideology".

This article is a comment on BROWDER'S appearance on "Nightbeat".

The writer of this article stated that "on balance his total performance was positive". The writer stated further that "Browder also proved that the core of the criticism the Party made when it broke with his ideas in 1945 was correct. He proved his abandonment of Marxism is a fixed feature of his thinking. Browder remains faithful to Browderism." The writer of this article also stated that "regardless of whether Browder's expulsion was justified he made it clear the other night that he no longer considers himself a Communist."

C. Browder's Appearance on the Television Show "Mike Wallace Interviews" on June 2, 1957, Channel 7

EARL BROWDER was interviewed by MIKE WALLACE on June 2, 1957.

NY 100-25693

During this interview BROWDER made general comments on the possibility of America's turning to Socialism, the advantages in relaxation of world tensions and the possible reactions in the United States Congress to the remarks of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV on television broadcasts earlier on June 2, 1957.

He stated that if the United States did become a Socialist country it would be different from the type of Socialism KHRUSHCHEV knows. He stated that it would be a democratic Socialism which would be essentially Jeffersonian.

BROWDER stated he had not the slightest desire to re-enter the CP. He said the CP under his leadership was held in much higher public esteem than the present CP. He stated many present day Communists remained in the CP only because they sympathized with an organization which was under great pressure from the United States Government. He stated this pressure caused others to support and help the CP and present day Communists, out of sympathy for the under-dog.

When questioned by WALLACE concerning his convictions, in 1917 for a Selective Service violation and in 1940 for passport fraud, BROWDER stated in regard to the 1917 matter, he had no contempt for American Laws or society but only wished to defend the Constitution against those who would change its spirit and purpose. He said the vast majority of Americans did not wish to enter World War I. He said the government's brief in the passport fraud case stated the case was purely technical and did not involve moral turpitude on his part. He stated no one had ever made any official charges that he had ever tried to injure the American people or government and that such charges, if made, could not be sustained.

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When WALLACE asked BROWDER why he had shielded his three sons from being exposed to Communism, BROWDER replied that he had followed the advice of his wife who had pronounced views against political indoctrination of children. WALLACE then asked if Mrs. BROWDER had been a Communist, to which BROWDER replied "she was non-political". WALLACE then stated he had "documentary evidence" to show that Mrs. BROWDER had attended CP affairs and had been photographed giving the Communist salute at these affairs.

He said he was writing a "re-examination of Marxism" which would be disagreeable to present day Marxists but of value to the rest of the world.

He stated he had been trying to tell what he knew for the past ten years but had received little encouragement. He explained that people did not want to hear what he had to say but wanted him to say what they thought he should say, and he refused to do this. He said he was never a party to any conspiracy or espionage and knew nothing of such activity.

The program closed with WALLACE asking where BROWDER'S sympathies lie in event of a war between the United States and the Soviet Union. BROWDER stated his sympathies would be "here".

III. CURRENT OPINIONS EXPRESSED BY EARL BROWDER

On April 2, 1957, T-4 advised that MAX SHACHTMAN stated that in a conversation, date unstated, he had with EARL BROWDER, BROWDER agreed that the Socialist Party should be the basis for unifying the American Socialist Movement and that a unified

NY 100-25693

Socialist Party would be a broad, loosely disciplined party in which many tendencies would exist. BROWDER agreed that there must be some means of keeping Stalinists out of the Socialist Party.

On November 26, 1957, T-5 advised that MAX SHACHTMAN is National Chairman of the Independent Socialist League (ISL).

The ISL has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"The New York Times" issue of May 20, 1957, page 6, contains an article entitled "Browder 66 Hopes to Write A Book".

This article stated that EARL BROWDER "wants to write a book saying how Karl Marx, the Apostle of Socialism and Marxism, was 'wrong in his handling of America'".

According to the article, BROWDER said "the United States had 'a century of development on the basis of free land which changed the structure of capitalist society and was the secret of most contradictions in Marxism as they arose here'".

On August 7, 1957, T-6 and T-7 advised that on July 19, 1957, SARA and GAYLORD SWING discussed what EARL BROWDER had to say when they visited him at his sister's home in Phoenix, Arizona.

SARA SWING said she asked BROWDER about the Hungarian uprising and BROWDER replied that he did not like the manner in which the

NY 100-25693

Russians moved in with the military to crush the revolt. SARA SWING told him it was all propaganda and differed with him about the whole situation. GAYLORD SWING commented that EARL BROWDER became quite angry and told SARA SWING he had been head of the International Committee on Propaganda and he knew what it was when he saw it, and that the Russian version of the Hungarian situation is pure propaganda and nothing else. SARA SWING said she could see that BROWDER was old and confused and both she and her husband, GAYLORD, were unimpressed with his opinions.

GAYLORD SWING also remarked that BROWDER is still a Socialist, but BROWDER had made the statement that MARX never dreamed that capitalism would ever reach such heights of development or provide so much prosperity for so many people.

On May 24, 1955, T-8 advised that SARA and GAYLORD SWING participated in a CP meeting held at their residence in Phoenix, Arizona, on May 15, 1955, and the SWINGS are considered the local CP leaders in Phoenix, Arizona.

"The New York Times" issue of November 12, 1957, under a heading entitled "Doom of Tyranny Seen by Browder" stated that "Earl Browder, Head of the American CP from 1930 - 1945 now forecasts that 'man will indeed triumph over the police state'" which will be due "'in part because of the training and analytical thought' absorbed from Karl Marx."

This article further stated that BROWDER had been giving a series of

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lectures at Rutgers University which "discussed mistakes in Marxism as Mr. Browder sees them".

According to the article, BROWDER stated that the occurrence of the 1917 Revolution in "backward Russia" refuted "'Marx's central thought' that Socialism must be the product of modern industrial civilization and cause its 'greatest theoretical crisis'".

The article then stated that BROWDER said that this crisis can be seen in the "'upheavals in Hungary and Poland, in the exposures of Stalin's crimes and in the fever chart of the Russian - Yugoslavian split'".

The article further reflected that "Mr. Browder considers Marx wrong in his dogmas about the impoverishment of the people under Capitalism and about wages being pulled down to subsistence levels. The United States, he says, became the world's richest nation while eliminating poverty' to a degree unknown elsewhere'".

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

The "Daily Worker" issue of September 12, 1956, page 4, column 3, contains a letter to the editor entitled "Re-Reads Browder", signed S.C.

In this letter the writer stated he had recently read 2 books by BROWDER, one written in 1947 and one written in 1942, and he extolled BROWDER'S analysis of the conditions that would exist after World War II. He also refers to BROWDER as "one of the very few creative Marxists authors of our time". The writer also

NY 100-25693

attacked the present leadership in the CP for not having the "capacity for profound original thinking" as BROWDER did.

On December 3, 1956, T-9 furnished information that reflected that on September 13, 1956, the New York State CP paid EARL BROWDER approximately \$77.00 for literature.

The "Daily Worker" issue of March 4, 1957, page 4, column 2, contained a letter to the editor entitled "On Browder's Expulsion". This article defended the CP for having expelled BROWDER in 1946.

On March 20, 1957, T-10 advised that JOE STAROBIN stated on that date he and another individual had recently had a meeting with EARL BROWDER.

The Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, report entitled "Investigation of Communist Propaganda in the United States - Part 5 (New York City area)", pages 305-319, contains the testimony of JOSEPH STAROBIN before the Sub-Committee of the Committee on Un-American Activities on March 13, 1957, in New York City.

STAROBIN testified he was a reporter for the "Daily Worker" from 1942 onward; became one of the editors of the "Daily Worker" and was a foreign editor until the beginning of 1954, and that he was a member of the CP from 1934 until late in 1953.

On June 21, 1957, T-11 advised

NY 100-25693

that BILL REUBEN stated that he is in the process of working on a new book to discredit WHITTAKER CHAMBERS.

According to the informant, REUBEN stated that he had had a 2 hour interview with EARL BROWDER the week previous and he stated BROWDER said that there was no such thing as an underground or an espionage network in the United States CP that he knew of.

On March 20, 1956, T-11 advised that on that date WILLIAM REUBEN stated that he was in the Writers Section of the CP until the spring of 1951.

On September 9, 1957, T-12 advised that JEAN SMITH, whom he described as Secretary at the CP National Office, stated that there was talk at the CP National Office that JOE CLARK, MOE MILLER, and JOE STAROBIN possibly may organize "a separate group" with EARL BROWDER as leader of the group.

The "Daily Worker" issue of February 23, 1955, page 1, column 4, announced that JOSEPH CLARK, who was that publication's correspondent in the Soviet Union, would move to the post of the "Daily Worker" Foreign Editor.

The "Daily Worker" page 4, column 1-5, issue of September 9, 1957, sets out a letter from JOSEPH CLARK to the editor of the "Daily Worker" in which CLARK noted that, after 28 years of association, he was resigning as an editor of the "Daily Worker" and member of the CP because he no longer found it possible to

NY 100-25693

serve the cause of American Socialism through them.

The "Morning Freiheit" dated April 9, 1948, page 1, columns 4 to 7, carried an article identifying MOSES MILLER as a member of the editorial staff of that paper and also being a member of the National Committee of the CP.

On September 30, 1953, T-13 advised that MOSES MILLER during 1948 and 1949 was groomed for a leading position in the CP underground. The source was unable to elaborate further upon this information.

A Sub-Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311, on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, page 75, stated "The Freiheit has been one of the rankest organs of Communist propaganda in this country for almost a quarter of a century".

On September 12, 1957, Assistant United States Attorney THOMAS BOLAN, Southern District of New York, advised SA WILLIAM L. McMURRAY that the perjury case against BROWDER was still under consideration.

On October 29, 1957, Assistant United States Attorney JEROME LONDIN, Southern District of New York, advised SA THOMAS J. CROKE, Jr., that the United States Department of Justice is presently considering dropping the perjury case against EARL BROWDER.

Some informants who are acquainted with certain aspects of CP activity

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-25693

in the New York City area, and who have knowledge of the past activities of EARL BROWDER, advised in October and November, 1957, that they had no current information concerning the subject.

- C -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office

um • UN

VERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

DATE: 12/20/57

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
SM - C; PERJURY

Re report of SA THOMAS J. CROKE, Jr., dated and captioned as above at NY, of which the original and 3 copies are enclosed. Also enclosed are four copies of a blank memorandum relating to the reliability of informants whose identities are concealed by the use of T symbols.

INFORMANTS

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity &/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>	<u>File # where Located</u>
T-1	Residence Residence Employment Employment	b7D	(S) SA incl 12/19/63	100-25693-1435 Instant report 100-25693-142 Instant report
T-2				
T-3				b3 b7D
T-4				
T-5				Chicago file A

Used to document MAX SHACHTMAN.

2-Bureau (40-3798) (Enc1. 8) (RM)
3-New York (100-25693)

TJC:axg
(5)

RECORDED - 62
INDEXED - 62

773

51499

b6
b7C

NY 100-25693

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity &/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>	<u>File # where Located</u>
T-6 [redacted]				[redacted] b3 b7D
T-7 [redacted]				[redacted] e
T-8 [redacted]	Used to document SARA and GAYLORD SWING.			b7D
T-9 [redacted]				100-26603-1a 6598
T-10 [redacted]				
T-11 [redacted]	BILL REUBEN had a 2 hour interview with EARL BROWDER.			
T-12 [redacted]	Used to document BILL REUBEN.			b7D
T-13 [redacted]	Used to document MOSES MILLER.			

Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and T symbols were utilized in the report only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.

The informants referred to in this report, who were contacted and furnished no current information concerning EARL BROWDER are identified as follows:

NY 100-25693

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Date Contacted</u>	<u>Contacting SA</u>
[redacted]	10/25/57	JAMES P. HALLERON
	10/28/57	CHARLES D. SHORES
	11/19/57	JOHN A. HAAG

b7D

In addition [redacted]
were contacted by SAs ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and
JOHN A. HAAG, respectively on 11/5 and 11/4/57, and
they furnished no information in addition to that
reported in instant report.

b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE

In 1956, [redacted] was interviewed
in Vienna, Austria, by Mr. [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] This information was furnished by [redacted]
in strictest confidence with the specific request
that the comments not be disseminated outside the
Bureau.

In this interview, [redacted] stated
that he had arrived in the US as a student under
the name [redacted] He was advised by EARL BROWDER
to claim birth in the US. [redacted] further stated
that in 1935, Inspector JOHN BRODERICK of the NY
Police Force made a raid on the Transport Workers
Union. He claimed that [redacted] was an alien born
in Mexico.

[redacted] then went to BROWDER for
advice what to do. First [redacted] was told to
lay low and then he was told to claim US birth.
This advice was given him at a meeting, at which
he believed both BROWDER and (J.) PETERS were
present.

NY 100-25693

This information is not being reported in the details of referenced report, since the information was received in strictest confidence from [redacted] and is not to be disseminated outside the Bureau.

b7D

This report has been classified "Confidential" because it contains information the unauthorized disclosure of which could be prejudicial to the National security.

A photograph of the subject is available.

The subject is on the SI and his SI card is current and correct.

No recommendation is being made to interview the subject at this time since over the years he has consistently refused to cooperate with the FBI during previous interviews.

This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the existing criteria for retention of the subject on the SI and although the subject's current activities as such do not warrant his retention on the SI, due to the fact that the subject has had knowledge of and assisted in espionage activities of the CP in the past, and his long history of association with the CP in a leadership capacity, it is recommended that he be retained on the SI.

REFERENCE

Report of SA JAMES E. HANLON,
dated 12/31/56, at NY.



Department of
Federal Bureau of Investigation
New York, New York
December 20, 1957

Re: Earl Russell Browder,
with aliases.

Reference is made to the report
of Special Agent Thomas J. Croke, Jr., dated
and captioned as above at New York.

T-1 is in a position to furnish
reliable information.

T-2 through T-13 have furnished
reliable information in the past.

This is loaned to you by the
Federal Bureau of Investigation, and neither
it nor its contents are to be distributed outside
the agency to which loaned.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/19/99 BY [redacted]

AGENCY *AA9 Memphis*
REQ. REC'D *1-9-58*
DATE FORW. *PG*
HOW FORW. *1130/10*
BY *7130/10*

AGENCY *ICC - 507-14*
REQ. REC'D *2-17-58*
REP'T FORM. *7-23-5*
BY *1130/10*
EX *7-23-5*

AGENCY *ICC - 507-14*
REQ. REC'D *2-17-58*
REP'T FORM. *7-23-5*
BY *1130/10*
SPEC. REQ. FOR *7-23-5*

b6
b7C

b3

*1/1/58 9:17
1/1/58 9:17
4/24/58*

ENCLOSURE

773

Office M

UNITED

GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

DATE: 12/31/57

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was
SM-C

On December 27, 1957 JEROME LONDIN, AUSA, SDNY, advised SA THOMAS J. CROKE, JR., that the Dept. of Justice is considering filing a nolle prosequi in the BROWDER case.

LONDIN advised that this has been under consideration since approximately September, 1957.

LONDIN further advised that he would immediately inform the NYO when a decision is reached.

② - Bureau (40-3798) (RM)
1 - NY 100-25693

TJC:AJD
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/14/99 BY [redacted]

b6
b7c

RECORDED-13

40-2718-774

14 JAN 3 1958

EX-131
SUBV. CONFIDENTIAL

85 JAN 13 1958

SAC, W

b-25693) Best Copy Available

January 13, 1958

Director, FBI (40-3798)

GARY RUSSELL BROADBENT
SECURITY MATTER - C
PERJURY

Reurlet and the report of Special Agent Thomas J. Croke, Jr., both dated 12-20-57.

Berep is carried in a closed status. You should continue to follow this case with the United States Attorney of the Southern District of New York and advise the Bureau of all pertinent developments. This case should be maintained in a pending or pending inactive status until final prosecutive action has been taken.

APR 10 1958

775

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/14/00 BY [redacted]

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 Nease _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

PRD:ef
(4)

MAIL ROOM [redacted]

3

DATE OF MAIL

Jan 28, 1958

HAS BEEN REMOVED AND PLACED
IN THE SPECIAL FILE ROOM OF
RECORDS BRANCH

~~HAS BEEN REMOVED FOR THE CONFIDENTIAL FILE ROOM OF THE DOMESTIC
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION.~~

SEE FILE 66-2554-7530 FOR AUTHORITY.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/01 BY [redacted]

SUBJECT

JUNE MAIL

Earl Browder

REMOVED BY 61 JUL 28 1960

FILE NUMBER 40-3798-776

PERMANENT SERIAL CHARGEOUT

b6
b7C

DATE OF MAIL 1-28-58

HAS BEEN REMOVED AND PLACED
IN THE SPECIAL FILE ROOM OF
RECORDS BRANCH

~~HAS BEEN REMOVED FOR THE CONFIDENTIAL FILE ROOM OF THE DOMESTIC
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION~~

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/01 BY [redacted]

SEE FILE 66-2554-7530 FOR AUTHORITY.

SUBJECT JUNE MAIL *Earl Shroeder*REMOVED BY 55 FEB 6 1958FILE NUMBER 40-3998-777

PERMANENT SERIAL CHARGEOUT

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *RP*

FROM : Mr. R. R. Roach *RP*

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

DATE: February 13, 1958

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/01 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C
Holson _____
Nichols _____
Bogradman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Brooks

On February 12, 1958, Mr. Robert Johnson, Passport Office, State, advised Mr. Bartlett of the Liaison Section that Earl Russell Browder, former head of the United States Communist Party (CP) applied for a passport at the New York Passport Agency on February 11, 1958. In his application, Mr. Browder stated that he desired to go to Europe and to leave New York on April 1, 1958, and to travel both directions by ship. He indicated a desire to visit France, England, Italy, Switzerland and Yugoslavia. He gave his occupation as writer and his home address as 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York. Browder indicated that he desired to visit his son, [redacted] who is now studying in Europe under a National Science Foundation Grant. Mr. Johnson indicated that Browder answered the question as to present membership in the Communist Party "No". Concerning former membership in the Communist Party, Browder indicated he was a member from January, 1921 until February, 1946. Mr. Johnson stated that he will advise as soon as a decision is made concerning the Browder passport application.

ACTION: [redacted] - *459 - E.U.K.P.C*For information. Liaison will follow this matter. *11*

OHB:bjt/ht
(6)

QHE LEC

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Branigan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. Bartlett

REC-85

10-171-778

EX-136

10 FEB 20 1958

*62 FEB 27 1958**Watson*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *12*

FROM : MR. R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

DATE: February 17, 1958

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Reference is made to my memorandum to you dated February 13, 1958. Referenced memorandum reflects that the Passport Office is in receipt of an application for a passport from Browder to travel to Europe, leaving on April 1, 1958. *Krause*

On February 17, 1958, Mr. Robert Johnson, Passport Office, State, advised Mr. Bartlett of the Liaison Section that his office had sent a form letter to Browder which indicated that his application had been received and that it was under consideration. Mr. Johnson stated that his office will make a routine file check concerning Browder and following this will make a determination concerning the issuance of a passport to Browder. Mr. Johnson advised Mr. Bartlett that he would advise the Bureau as soon as a determination is made in this matter. You will immediately be advised of this determination.

ACTION:

For information.

OK *AB* *W* *Bartlett*
OHB:jlk (6)
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Bartlett

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/01 BY

b6
b7C

AC-85

40-1795-779

10 FEB 20 1958

EX-136

AC-85 76 FEB 24 1958

flatfile

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798) DATE: 2/26/58

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
SM - C; PERJURY

Re NYlet to Bureau dated 12/31/57 and Bulet to NY dated 1/13/58.

Efforts were made to contact JEROME LONDIN, AUSA, SDNY on 2/19-21, 25/58 without success.

On 2/25/58, Mr. LEO COHEN, Clerk, U. S. Attorney's Office, SDNY, advised SA THOMAS J. CROKE, Jr. that the Perjury case against the subject is still pending and as of 2/25/58 no nolle prosequi had been filed.

This case will continue to be followed with the USA, SDNY and the Bureau will be advised of all pertinent developments.

This case is being maintained in a pending inactive status in the NYO.

2 - Bureau (40-3798) (RM)
1 - New York (100-25693) (7-4)

TJC:RML
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/99 BY [redacted]

REC-47

10-3798-780

17 MAR 1958

EX-128

57 MAR 14 1958

STANLEY COHEN
100-25693

b6
b7C

DATE OF MAIL 1/31/58

HAS BEEN REMOVED AND PLACED
IN THE SPECIAL FILE ROOM OF
RECORDS BRANCH

~~HAS BEEN REMOVED FOR THE CONFIDENTIAL FILE ROOM OF THE DOMESTIC
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION.~~

SEE FILE 66-2554-7530 FOR AUTHORITY.

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/01 BY [redacted]

SUBJECT JUNE MAIL

Earl Browder

REMOVED BY 55 FEB 10 1958

FILE NUMBER 40-3798-1

PERMANENT SERIAL CHARGEOUT

107

CONFIDENTIAL

Best Copy Available

MAILED

FEB 28 1958

NAME CHECK

DECLASSIFIED BY
ON 12-17-01

b6
b7C

February 27, 1958

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
Born: May 20, 1891
Wichita, Kansas

Reference is made to your name check request relating to the above captioned individual. This Bureau was advised by [redacted] that only reports reflecting results of investigation concerning Browder were desired.

In response, there are enclosed one copy each of two reports and a memorandum captioned, "Earl Russell Browder - Security Matter - C; Perjury."

The foregoing information is furnished to you as a result of your request for an FBI file check and is not to be construed as a clearance or a non-clearance of the individual involved. This information is loaned for your use and is not to be disseminated outside of your agency.

Enclosures

Orig. and one to State (Passport)

Req. rec'd 2-18-58

W. H. PRITT:oj

(4) *W.H.*

Note: Memo classified confidential inasmuch as the enclosed reports are classified confidential.

J. Becht, [redacted]
reports only re Browder.

requested b3

4 - 37446-781

REC-35

EX-126

MAR 4 1958

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Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM

28 MAR 7 1958

PLST

CONFIDENTIAL

4222b

11-23-55

SEARCH SLIP

Subj:

Swanson, Earl Russell

R#

Date 8-19

Searcher

Number 814FILE NUMBERSERIAL10-37985-26-553798-726Sum7568-31-56Earl Russell. 2nd39-87839-878-56 Carroll SummaryEarl10-3798-ent 5A90-3798-ent 2

b3

100-1247007-5107 363,264365,266,267 Sum100-267360-70071 82Sum. 12-46100-344718 (Son)61-7559-12014 SumSee ref'd approx 11,000not listed -

Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. R. R. ROACH

FROM : MR. *J. H. Bartlett*

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

DATE: February 28, 1958

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Your memorandum to Mr. Belmont dated February 13, 1958, reported that Browder had applied for a passport and that he desired to travel to Europe.

On February 28, 1958, I checked this matter with Mr. Robert Johnson at the Passport Office and I was advised that no decision has been reached concerning the issuance of a passport to Browder.

ACTION:

For information. Liaison will follow this matter.

0HB:jk/jf
(5)

1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Bartlett

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/01 BY SP

EX-314
REC'D 64

40-3778-782

ST MAR 4 1958

b6
b7C

16 MAR 11 1958
F257

RE: Earl Russell Browder

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. R. R. Roach *13*

FROM : Mr. O. H. Bartlett *OB*

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

DATE: March 27, 1958

Bland

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Browder has applied for a passport to travel to Europe. This was reported in your memorandum to Mr. Belmont dated February 13, 1958. I have been following this matter with Mr. Robert Johnson at the Passport Office.

On March 26, 1958, Mr. Johnson advised me that no decision has been reached concerning the issuance of a passport to Browder.

ACTION:

For information. Liaison will follow this matter.

OHB:bjt/ljt
(4)

1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Bartlett

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/04 BY SP/

Dumbell
b6
b7c

REC-19 40-3798-783

EX-110 118 APR 1 1958

64 APR 7 1958

Tolson ✓
Gardman ✓
Belmont ✓
Mohr ✓
Nease ✓
Parsons ✓
Rosen ✓
Tamm ✓
Trotter ✓
Clayton ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Holloman ✓
Gandy ✓

**Browder's Bail
Cut to \$1,000
In 1952 Case**

Earl Browder, former national secretary of the Communist Party in the United States, obtained in United States District Court yesterday a reduction in his bail from \$2,500 to \$1,000. Judge John M. Cashin granted the request.

Browder, sixty-seven, of 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, and his wife, Raissa, were indicted in September, 1952, on charges of testifying falsely in a 1949 immigration hearing that Mrs. Browder was never a member of the Communist party. Mrs. Browder died in January, 1955, of cancer.

Browder's trial has been delayed by the illness of a witness, Louis Budenz, former editor of "The Daily Worker," who has a heart ailment, according to Jerome J. London, assistant United States Attorney.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/17/01 BY [redacted]

140-3795
DOROTHY
24 APR 14 1958

63 APR 16 1958 Fd 72

Wash. Post and _____
Times Herald
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star _____
N. Y. Herald 7
Tribune
N. Y. Journal-
American
N. Y. Mirror _____
N. Y. Daily News _____
N. Y. Times _____
Daily Worker _____
The Worker _____
New Leader _____

Date APR 8 1958

b6
b7c

F B I

Date: 4/8/58

Transmit the following in

PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

Via

AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson
 Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont
 Mr. Mohr
 Mr. Nease
 Mr. Parsons
 Mr. Rosen
 Mr. Tamm
 Mr. Trotter
 Mr. Clayton
 Tele. Room
 Mr. Holloman
 Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)
 SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was
 SM-C; PERJURY

On 4/8/58 AUSA, SDNY JEROME J. LONDIN was telephonically contacted by SA THOMAS J. CROKE, JR.

He advised that the perjury case against EARL BROWDER is presently off the court calendar. He stated that due to the unavailability of the Government's main witnesses, LOUIS BUDENZ, PAUL CROUCH and HOWARD RUSHMORE, there is ^{sick} ~~not~~ evidence on which to proceed.

LONDIN also stated that the Department of Justice is still considering filing a nolle prosequi in this matter but has yet to make a decision.

He further advised that on 4/7/58 a motion was filed in Federal Court by BROWDER's attorney to reduce bond from \$2,500.00 to \$500.00. He stated the Government objected to this but agreed to have the bond reduced to \$1,000.00, which was done.

This case will continue to be followed with the USA, SDNY and the Bureau will be advised of all pertinent developments.

This case is being maintained in a pending inactive status in the NYO.

32 Bureau (40-3798) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-25693)

TJC:esc (7-4)
 (5)

REC-56
 EK-135

15 APR 9 1958

POWERS

53 APR 16 1958

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

Seft 1/1/99 BY

cc 14-11-0

53V.09

b6
 b7c

Office Memo

• UNITED

VERNMENT

TO : Mr. R. R. Roach *KR*

FROM : Mr. O. H. Bartlett

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

DATE: 11 30, 1958

2-1

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

By memorandum dated February 13, 1958, I reported that Mr. Robert Johnson of the Passport Office had advised that Browder applied for a passport to travel to Europe. This matter has been followed with Mr. Johnson to determine the outcome.

On April 29, 1958, I again contacted Mr. Johnson regarding the status of the Browder application and Mr. Johnson advised that this application "was on ice"; that no action has been taken and he is not sure just what action will be taken either to grant or deny a passport to Browder.

ACTION:

For information. Liaison will follow this matter.

OHB:bjt/gt
(4)

1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Bartlett

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/01 BY [redacted]

REC-1

40-3798-785

RECEIVED
MAY 2 1958
FBI - WASH. D. C.

53 MAY 9 1958

SEARCHED
INDEXED
SERIALIZED
FILED

FBI - WASH. D. C.

b6
b7c

1 A.M. Butler
1 Section tickler
1 J.S. Johnson

2 Orig. & copy
1 Yellow file copy
1 - 100-352546

SAC, New York

May 28, 1958

Director, FBI (40-3798)

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SI - G; MRJURY

You should discreetly obtain one copy of the book "Marx and America" by Earl Browder. The book should be forwarded to the Bureau by routing slip, attention Central Research Section. The price of the book is not known.

AMB:ela -
(7)

NOTE: Above book being obtained for use of Current Research Unit.
FD-4 from New York dated 6/13/58, arrival book
to be published in August. A.B.

REC'D BY

14-176-786

23 MAY 29 1958

ENCLOSURE

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Nease _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Clayton _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

66 JUN 4 1958

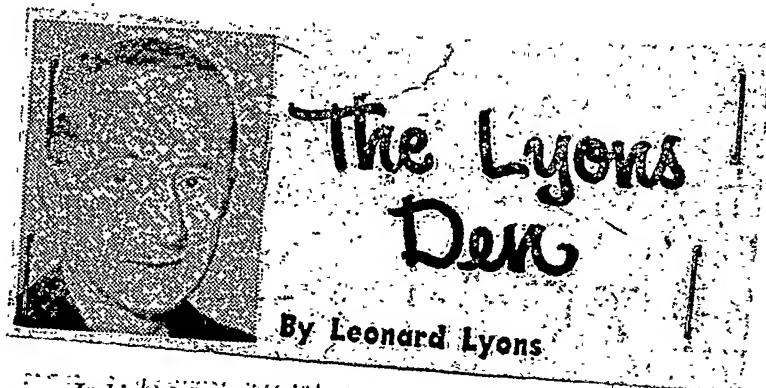
MAIL ROOM

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/7/99 BY [redacted]

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

b6
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Mr. Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Boardman	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nease	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Parsons	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tamm	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Trotter	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Clayton	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Holloman	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>



In his new book, "Marx and America," and his lecture series at the New School, Earl Browder will offer a new angle on capitalism and Marxism. Browder, the onetime Communist Party candidate for President, will maintain that American capitalism, with its high wages, refutes Marx' doctrine that capitalism inevitably means the steady impoverishment of workers. Browder also will show how Marx' own theory, divorced from dogma, gives the clearest explanation of the rise of the American economy to world domination.

*Bob file
Bob file
Browder file
Browder file
The New School*

H. R. H. R.

LETTER FROM THE
N.Y. POST
EDITION 7th.BLUE FINAL
DATED 19 MAY 1953
PAGE M8
FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

RE: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM-C, PERJURY

BUFILE 40-3798

b6
b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/11/01 BY [redacted]

142-55 3-10-11
Central Research

40-3798-786

ENCLOSURE

File 10-377

Set. to R. W. [redacted]
R. M. B. [redacted]

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. R. R. Roach *(3)*

FROM : Mr. O. H. Bartlett *(2)*

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - R *(1)*

DATE: May 26, 1958

2-1

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
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Parsons	_____
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Nease	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

B6f50
Bureau of Internal Security

By memorandum dated February 13, 1958, I reported that Mr. Robert Johnson, Passport Office, State, had advised that Browder applied for a passport to travel to Europe. This matter has been followed with Mr. Johnson to determine the outcome and status reports have been submitted to you.

On May 26, 1958, I again contacted Mr. Johnson regarding the status of the Browder application and Mr. Johnson advised that no decision has been made on this matter and Browder has not been pushing the application. Mr. Johnson advised that his office will have to make a decision some time within the next month and that he will advise the Bureau as to the action taken.

ACTION:

For information. Liaison will follow this matter.

OHB:bjtly
(4)

1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Bartlett

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/22/07 BY SP/

REC-42

EX-17

40-3298-787

18 JUN 3 1958

b6
b7C

F148
70 JUN 10 1958

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. R. R. Roach *R*

DATE: June 16, 1958

FROM : O. H. *Bartlett*SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Blanchard

Polson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
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Nease	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Reference is made to my memorandum dated February 13, 1958, in which it was reported that the Passport Office at State was in receipt of an application from Browder to travel to Europe. This matter has been followed on several occasions with the Passport Office and no passport has been issued to date. *2-1*

On June 16, Mr. Robert Johnson, Passport Office, advised me that Browder has sent a follow-up letter saying that he still desired a passport so he could travel to Europe. Mr. Johnson said that his office would await the Supreme Court decision that is expected in the near future which may be the basis of approving or declining this application.

ACTION:

mje For information. Liaison will follow this matter.

OHB:mje (4)

1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Section Tickler
1 - Mr. Bartlett

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-17-01 BY

WS/
5
b6 b7C

REG-73

JUN 19 1958

53 JUN 23 1958

Office 1

m • UN

VERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798) DATE: 6/10/58

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was
SM-C; PERJURY

Re NY airtel to Bureau, 4/8/58.

On 6/9/58 AUSA, SDNY JEROME J. LONDIN was telephonically contacted by SA THOMAS J. CROKE, JR.

He advised that he has been instructed by the Department to file a nolle prosequi in this matter subject to the approval of the Department in Washington, D.C.

He stated that he has been extremely busy in court and has not yet prepared for filing.

This case will continue to be followed with the USA, SDNY and the Bureau will be advised of all pertinent developments.

This case is being maintained in a pending inactive status in the NYO.

2 Bureau (40-3798) (RM)
1 - New York (100-25693)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
TJC:esHEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
(3) DATE 4/7/99 BY [redacted]

40-3798-789

b6
b7c

74 JUN 11 1958

70 JUN 17 1958 F-51
SUBJ CONTROL

70 JUN 17 1958 F-51

Office M

2 • UNITED S

ERNMENT

TO : MR. NEASE

FROM : E. E. SHORT

SUBJECT: EARLE BROWDER

DATE: 7-21-58

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/01 BY [redacted]

Tolson _____
Boardman b6 _____
Belmont b7C _____
Mohr _____
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Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Clayton _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Bulky Exhibit File Number: 40-3798-44

We are presently in the process of reviewing all bulky exhibits presently on hand, in order that we may weed out those which will serve no useful purpose by being retained. Inasmuch as a great many of these bulky exhibits pertain to inactive cases and are occupying badly needed space, it is requested that you have the appropriate substantive supervisor review the above-listed bulky exhibit and render a decision as to the retention or disposition of the material contained therein. A notation as to the decision rendered should be placed on this memorandum, and it should be returned to the Filing Unit of the Records Branch, Room 1113, Identification Building. This memorandum will be filed in the case file.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the above-listed bulky exhibit be reviewed and a decision rendered as to the retention or disposition of the material contained therein.

JWM:gbh

1/15
Although these exhibits
are broken discs, they record
a speech of Browder and may be
useful in the future. WTB

40-3798-44

NOT RECORDED

12 AUG 7 1958

J. W. MARSHALL

52 AUG 11 1958

~~SECRET~~ (U)

Original and 3 New York

Classified by [redacted]

Declassify on: OADR 357-897

1 - Mr. Putnam
1 - Mr. Floyd

b6
b7C

SAC, New York (100-7758)

June 27, 1958

Director, FBI (100-12584)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

ABRAHAM AARON HELLER
SECURITY MATTER - C

100-34880-111100
100-34880-111100
100-34880-111100
100-34880-111100

Information has been received from [redacted] b7D
[redacted], a most sensitive and reliable source,
indicating that one V. D. Kazakevich, residing in
Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the
subject were in contact with each other during
January, February, and April, 1958. Kazakevich may
be identical with Vladimir D. Kazakevich, subject of
closed security matter - C investigation, New York
file 100-34880. (S)

b7D

During these contacts Heller commented that
there may be serious changes within the "CP" during
the coming year. Kazakevich mentioned the resignation
of Joseph Clark and commented that he had received
several letters from Clark which "bordered on the insane." b6
Clark is probably identical to Joseph Clark, former
foreign editor of the "Daily Worker," who resigned from
the "Daily Worker" and the Communist Party in 1957. b7C
Kazakevich also remarked that he had heard that
Karl Browder is acting as a consultant to the Ford
Foundation. During these contacts Kazakevich and the
subject discussed Mexican history apparently in
connection with some work on world history in which
Kazakevich is engaged. (S)

The above is furnished for your information.
If a review of your office files indicates inquiry or
investigation is warranted based on this information,
you should furnish the Bureau the basis for the inquiry
and request Bureau authority to take such action.

You are being cautioned that information
obtained from [redacted] is not to be
disseminated outside the Bureau and should not be (S)

b6
b7C

OCT 27 1958
#70007
CLASSIFIED BY
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X
(S) 1958-12-19-01.
(From PS-1 PCE/05A LTR 12-19-01.)

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
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Rosenblatt _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Wheeler _____
Clayton _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____
MAIL ROOM _____
1958 40-3798
PD Paim. 1/3
6 (10) JUL 8 1958

1 - 100-239922 (Kazakevich) 40-3798-
1 - 100-19591 (Clark) _____
(1) - 100-3198 (Browder) NOT RECORDED
175 JUL 1 1958

40-3798-
YELLOW
DUPLICATE
JUN 27 1958
MAILED

NOTE ON YELLOW SEE PAGE 2

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-112584-1

~~SECRET~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

Letter to New York
Re: ABRAHAM AARON HELLER
100-12584

set forth in any investigative reports. Information from this informant should be used for lead purposes only. You must avoid any statement concerning the scope of the coverage in effect in this instance and under no circumstances is the subject or any unauthorized person to become aware that we have knowledge of his contact with a person in Russia. (S)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Subject's name not included in Security Index. Heller, with Alexander Trachtenberg, a New York Smith Act subject, purchased controlling interest of International Publishers, Incorporated, in 1924. Heller is 84 years of age, unemployed, and reported to have a heart condition. He was a [redacted] member of the Communist Party (CP) National Committee. He was expelled from the CP with Earl Browder and one informant advised that he was taken back into the CP; during the past 9 years, however, he has engaged in no CP activity other than financial contributions to communist fronts. The 6-16-56 edition of the "Daily Worker" carries a letter by Heller wherein he defends communism and Russia. He refused to talk to FBI Agents on 11-22-55. Kazakevich is former writer for "Russky Golos," a New York Russian language daily newspaper which closely follows the CP line; instructor at Cornell University in Army Training Program during World War II; and active lecturer and writer on Soviet Russia. Elizabeth Bentley, self-admitted former espionage agent, stated that Kazakevich furnished information concerning Trotskyites to the Soviet agent, Jacob Golos. Kazakevich and wife departed United States for Russia on 9-3-49 and have not returned to the United States to date.

[redacted]

b3

-8-

~~SECRET~~

Office Mem

um • UNI

OVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont
 w/11 FROM : Mr. R. R. Roach
 SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
 INTERNAL SECURITY - R

DATE: July 24, 1958

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Nease _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 Clayton _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____
 W. J. Sullivan

Earl Russell Browder, former head of the Communist Party in the United States, applied for a passport to travel to Europe to visit his son, [redacted]. This matter was first reported to Liaison by the Passport Office on February 12, 1958, and Liaison has been following this matter closely.

On July 23, 1958, Mr. Robert Johnson of the Passport Office advised Mr. Bartlett of the Liaison Section that as a result of the recent Supreme Court decision, the Passport Office will have to issue a passport to Browder and this will be done and sent to him within the next few days.

ACTION:

For information.

OHB:bjt/lp
(5)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. Bartlett

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12/17/01 BY [redacted]

REC-6

EX-124

3798

791

88 AUG 6 1958

FM7

SUSAN J. ROE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

DATE: 7/30/58

7
WPA
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
SM - C; PERJURY

Re NYlet to Director dated 6/10/58.

On 7/29/58 AUSA, SDNY HERBERT CANTOR advised that there is no change in subject matter. He stated that a nolle prosequi has not been filed as yet. He stated that he is handling the case in the absence of AUSA JEROME J. LONDIN who is in Europe and is not expected back until some time after the summer months. He stated he does not know when LONDIN will file the nolle prosequi.

This case will continue to be followed with the AUSA, SDNY and the Bureau will be advised of all pertinent developments.

This case is being maintained in a pending inactive status in the NYO.

2 - Bureau (40-3798) (RM)
1 - New York (100-25693) (7-4) REC-29

TJC:RML
(3)

792

59 AUG 6 1958
F47

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/17/99 BY [redacted]

b6
b7c

SAC, New York (100-25693)

August 4, 1958

Director, FBI (40-3798)

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
PERJURY

Reurlet 6-10-58.

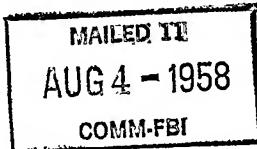
It is noted that Assistant United States Attorney Jerome J. London, Southern District of New York, advised your office on 6-9-58 that he had been instructed to file a *nolle prosequi* in this matter. No information has been received subsequent to relet.

Promptly ascertain the current status of this matter at the office of the United States Attorney, Southern District of New York, and advise the Bureau.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Browder was financial secretary of the CP during the early 1940's and was expelled in 1945 after publication of Duclos letter. Browder is subject of perjury investigation based on his testimony under oath that his wife was never a member of the CP. This case was referred by the Department to the U.S. Attorney, Southern District of New York, and latest contact with that office revealed a *nolle prosequi* would be filed.

WHF:bkm:fjb/j/
(4)



REG-28

40-3798-793

18 AUG 5 1958

EX-135

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

4/7/99 3

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
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Holloman _____
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MAIL ROOM

50 AUG 7 1958

b6
b7c

Office M.

n • UNITED ST

RNMENT

TO : Mr. R. R. Roach *JMF*
 FROM : Mr. J. M. Fitzgerald *JMF*
 SUBJECT: ^① EARL BROWDER
 SECURITY MATTER - C

DATE: July 31, 1958

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
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 Mohr _____
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 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
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 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
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On July 28, 1958, Mr. Robert Johnson of the State Passport Office called to inquire whether the Bureau could advise him if the perjury indictment against Browder has been dropped. According to Johnson, Browder has had an application for passport outstanding since February 11, 1958, and Johnson has been deferring action on it but has now reached the point where there appears to be nothing to do but issue it. He said he has been deferring action in view of the indictment returned against Browder in New York for perjury in the Fall of 1957. He referred to a Bureau report from New York dated December 20, 1957, indicating that the Department of Justice was considering dropping the perjury action against Browder.

The Bureau file reflects that no court action has yet been taken to drop this perjury action. This information was furnished to Mr. Johnson on July 28, 1958, and he indicated that he might contact the Department of Justice for further information.

ACTION:

For information.

 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12/17/01 BY

do
 b6
 b7c

JMF:bjt:mld
 (5)

1 - Mr. Bland
 1 - Mr. Floyd
 1 - Liaison Section
 1 - Mr. Fitzgerald

REC- 74

40-3798-794

40-3798-794

EX-108

F308 25
 52 AUG 19 1958

52 AUG 12 1958

SUBJ. C. J. B.
 (Signature)

Floyd

SAC, New York (100-25693)

August 27, 1958

Director, FBI (40-3798)

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
PERJURY

It is noted that subject's application for a passport has been under consideration by the Department of State and that Browder has requested the Department of State to process his application as early as possible.

In view of the above, you should remain alert in this matter and promptly furnish the Bureau any information you may receive concerning the subject's travel plans.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Browder was Financial Secretary of the Communist Party (CP) during the early 1940's and was expelled in 1945 after publication of Duclos letter. Browder is subject of Perjury investigation based on his testimony under oath that his wife was never a member of the CP. Case was referred by the Department to United States Attorney, SDNY, and AUSA has advised a nolle prosequi will be filed. Information has been received through Liaison that State Department has been considering subject's application for passport. When information is received that a passport will be or has been issued, further action will be taken.

WHF:bkm
(4)

REC-21

40-3798-795

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
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Parsons _____
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Clayton _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

MAILED TO
AUG 27 1958
COMM-FBI

6 SEP 3 1958

EX-139 TO AUG 28 1978

MAIL ROOM 737

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/9/99 BY

b6
b7C

F B I

Date: 8/27/58

Transmit the following message via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was;
SM-C.

4/21
 The TV and Radio column of the 8/23/58 issue of the "Sunday News", Sunday edition of the New York Daily News, reflected that EARL BROWDER would appear on the NBC-TV program "Today" on Wednesday, 8/27/58. This column reflected that CHARLES VAN DOREN would be the master of ceremonies of this program, substituting for H. V. KALTENBORN. The NYO tape-recorded the interview of BROWDER by CHARLES VAN DOREN and FRANK BLAIR of NBC-TV. Enclosed herewith is a transcript of the above interview.

b6
b7C

Inaudible

ROWDER: There are many reasons. American Communist Leadership has proven itself incompetent, out of touch with reality and quite stupid. More ~~deeper~~ than that, however, is the factor going back to origins of Communism and KARL MARX's theories. MARX himself made some basic mistakes in estimating the role of America in the development of World Capitalism. And it is these deeper historical origins of the failure of Communism that I direct most of my attention to in my new book.

VAN DOREN: There are a lot of people in the world who don't believe that MARX made any mistakes. Isn't that true?

BROWDER: That's true. There's the cult of the infallibility of MARX cultivated in Communist circles and extending some degree beyond it.

3 - BUREAU (40-3798) (RM)
1 - NEW YORK (100-25693)

RWK:DJG

(5) SEP 10 1958

COL X

REC. 97

AUG 28 1958

Sent

Approved: QJM
Special Agent in Charge

Per

SAC BOSTON

PAGE TWO

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following message via _____

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

VAN DOREN: My feeling, of course, is that this cult of the infallibility of MARX has a very bad effect on us. Since the Communists think he is infallible, we must think that he is always wrong and neither of these statements is true.

BROWDER: That's right. There's a tendency to put everything in the extremes, either MARX is just an old fool to be completely disregarded or else he's the infallible prophet of everything that's coming in the world. Of course, the truth lies somewhere in between there.

VAN DOREN: Mr. BROWDER, many people believe that American Communists get their orders from Moscow. While you were head of the party, did you ever receive orders from Russia?

BROWDER: No. The Russians strangely enough in view of their record in the last ten fifteen years treated me with a great deal of respect so long as they let me remain at the head of the party and I had a pretty free hand with very little interference. I, of course, always had to take into consideration the Communist prejudices and so on and even since I began to question some of the dogmas of Marxism as long as I was the head of the party, I was not in a position to challenge them head on. In fact, I was not in a position to really think through the problems until I got separated from that all.

VAN DOREN: How were you separated? What happened?

BROWDER: I was kicked out.

VAN DOREN: You were kicked out. After you were kicked out, in 1945 wasn't it, you went back to Russia, didn't you, did you expect to come back?

BROWDER: I made a visit in 1946 and spent some five, six weeks in Moscow. I really did not and I really had no desire to come back into the leadership of the Communist movement, but I did wish to have the opportunity to talk with the Russian leaders again to try to estimate how deeply did this shift in policy go that was represented in the denunciation of me as a leader that caused my removal.

Approved: _____ Sent: _____ M Per: _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

PAGE THREE

Date:

Transmit the following message via _____

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

VAN DOREN: While you were there did you meet Khrushchev?
BROWDER: No, I didn't meet Khrushchev.

VAN DOREN: What do you think of him?
BROWDER: Well, he's a very shrewd and capable man; he's one of these self-made men, analogous to the men who have risen to head of many of our great American corporations starting at the bottom and fighting his way up.

VAN DOREN: Any examples of Americans whom he might be like?
BROWDER: Well, I'd compare him with CHARLIE WILSON although you'd have to take into account the tremendous difference of the historical circumstances of the two. They're quite different but at the same time certain basic similarity of character due to the way in which each one of them has been a self-made man in a great industrial country.

VAN DOREN: Recently, ARTHUR MILLER the distinguished American playwright, was acquitted on a charge of contempt of Congress when he refused to implicate friends of his in the Communist Party or associates. Should people be expected to name Communists before committees of Congress, do you think?

BROWDER: I think it's a great mistake from a point of view of American national policy to pursue that kind of line. I must say that there has been quite a tendency in the courts to restrict that, and I, myself, had the personal experience of being cited for contempt because I refused to answer questions about particular individuals that were quite immaterial and irrelevant to the inquiry. I was acquitted and the case was thrown out by a judge appointed back in the times of HOOVER.

Approved: _____ Sent: _____ M Per: _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

PAGE FOUR

Date:

Transmit the following message via _____

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

BLAIR: Mr. BROWDER, it seems to me after scanning through your book that the boys in the Kremlin aren't going to like it too well. You make capitalism seem more successful than they would have the world think it is.

BROWDER: That's true. They are very much displeased by every effort to objectively estimate what's happening to capitalism. They want capitalism always to be judged on the basis of the Marxist dogma regardless of the facts. However, I think that the Russian leadership aside from their formal position on these questions before the public, are much more realistic among themselves. I think they know quite well.....I think they are purely pragmatic in their own thinking and use the dogma only for the masses as an instrument of mass control.

BLAIR: You said a while ago that you had no desire when you were in Moscow when you made this trip to Russia, to come back to leadership in the Communist Party in the United States. Did you have a desire to come back to the United States?

BROWDER: Oh yes. Yes indeed!

BLAIR: Just wanted to clear that up.

VAN DOREN: Mr. BROWDER, who would you have voted for in 1956?

BROWDER: 1956? Three months before the election, I wouldn't have known who to vote for and would have been rather indifferent but at the time the election date came I would have voted for Eisenhower.

VAN DOREN: Why?

BROWDER: Because of the fact that the choice was between him and STEVENSON who I think fell down completely in meeting the crisis of the Egyptian invasion. And there is no question in my mind that that was responsible for the extent of the sweep to Eisenhower.

F B I

PAGE FIVE

Date:

Transmit the following message via _____

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

VAN DOREN: Suppose that NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV told you the American Communist Party has gone to pot and you're the only man who can put it on its feet again. What would you say?

BROWDER: Well, I would say, "Mr. Khrushchev, first say that in public before you can expect me to even consider its meaning."

VAN DOREN: That's a good answer. Thank you very much.

FOSTER

Approved: _____ Sent: _____ M Per: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *9/16/54*

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: EARL R. BROWDER, MARX AND AMERICA
CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER

DATE: September 3, 1958

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12/17/01 BY [redacted]

Tolson b6
 Boardman b7C
 Belmont
 Mohr
 Nease
 Parsons
 Rosen
 Clegg
 Trotter
 W.C. Sullivan
 Tele. Room
 Holloman
 Gandy

Browder's book, Marx and America, reviewed by the Central Research Section, is a criticism of some of the fundamental principles of Marxism. Although principally concerned with the theories of the "subsistence wage" and "absolute and relative impoverishment," Browder also attacks other dogmatic assertions made by communists in the past. Despite these criticisms, the book also reveals that Browder has not abdicated the position of a convinced Marxist. Arguments presented in the book may be of value in the Bureau's efforts to disrupt and defect present Communist Party members.

Browder's Latest

Captioned book, reviewed by the Central Research Section, is a short volume dealing with Browder's theories concerning the applicability of Marxist thought to the economic structure of the United States. It is the published content, somewhat revised, of the series of lectures on comparative economics given by Browder at Rutgers University in November, 1957, and at the New School for Social Research at New York City in the summer of this year.

Criticizes "Dogmatic" Marxists

Primarily concerned with a criticism of Marx's doctrines of impoverishment and the subsistence wage, Browder's latest intellectual effort attempts to interpret economic developments in this country during the last century in the framework of Marxist analysis. It is such attempts which in the past caused Browder's expulsion from the Communist Party, USA, in 1945, and his subsequent vilification by the communist world as a "revisionist." Browder's principal thesis throughout this work is that the development of capitalism in America with the rise of prosperity which has accompanied it are factual occurrences which disprove the validity of Marx's "absolute general law of capitalist accumulation," which doctrine holds that as profits go up, wages must descend eventually to the level of bare subsistence. Since this doctrine has been central to orthodox communism, Browder's criticism of it is in opposition to the statements of communist theoreticians both here and abroad. This criticism is the central theme of Browder's stand on "American Exceptionalism."

DRK:aml

(10)

60 SEP 16 1958 REC-10

40-3798-797

1 - Section tickler 1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - D. R. Kurtzman 1 - Mr. Nease
 1 - J. F. Baumgardner 1 - Mr. Mohr
 1 - M. A. Jones 1 - Mr. H. O. Bly

3 SEP 16 1958

EX-105

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: Earl R. Browder, Marx and America

This book is considered by Superintendents
of D. S. C. & F. B. I. by Internal Security
Section. They feel that the book
is of no immediate value to the
Counterintelligence Programs.
It will be kept in mind for possible
future use in individual situations.

Arguments Should Be Helpful

The book, since it consists in major part of criticisms of the doctrinaire and dogmatic assertions of communist spokesmen past and present, may be useful to Special Agents working in the Counterintelligence and Toplev Programs, since it may provide them with arguments to be used in interviews with potential security informants. Browder's arguments seem to be technically competent from the standpoint of Marxist thought and, in any case, may be enough to stimulate critical thought on the part of Party members wavering on the line between orthodoxy and disillusionment.

Still a Marxist

In no sense, however, is Browder's book to be interpreted as representing a "break" with the fundamental philosophies of Marxism. His own statements at the close of his book establish that he still is an adherent of Marx who shows little sign of making a complete repudiation of all that is Marxism and communism.

"...the very ability to think as Marx thought, extending the frontiers of scientific knowledge, was lost to the Russian Marxists, and they denied the very possibility of improvement on the Marxist method. The renaissance of the fruitful and positive tradition of Marx has begun with the criticisms of Russia's dogmatic distortions of Marx but must proceed to the critical reflection of those dogmas embodied in the original system of Marxism...the more we study the errors of Marx, the more do we recognize him as one of the giants in the history of human thought." (Earl Browder, Marx and America, p. 141)

The New Eclectic

Certainly these words are no indictment of the thought of Marx in general, and even if there were doubt as to Browder's motives and intentions, his obstinate refusal to cooperate with Bureau Agents, refusing to provide information as to his knowledge of the communist movement in the United States, makes it obvious that his sympathies lie with that movement and not with the democratic institutions which the Bureau is seeking so diligently to protect. Browder attempts to create an impression of himself as an objective scholar who has come to the conclusion that neither capitalism nor Russian communism is correct. One cannot avoid comparing him with those indecisive individuals who, unable to choose between Heaven and Hell, optimistically hope to combine the best qualities of both.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: September 12, 1958

FROM : SAC, DETROIT
HJM JRAY
SAC, DETROIT
SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER
IS - C

On August 14, 1958, CASPER ENKEMAN, Chief of Police, Ann Arbor, Michigan, exhibited to ~~SA~~ CASPER H. KAST a copy of Certificate of Marriage of [redacted] and [redacted] dated June 1, 1958, at Brookline, Massachusetts. [redacted] listed the following description for himself:

Color
Age
Occupation
Birthplace
Father
Mother
Residence

[redacted]

b6
b7C

LEE listed the following description for herself:

Color
Age
Occupation
Birthplace
Father
Mother
Residence

[redacted]

b6
b7C

Chief ENKEMAN advised that a copy of the certificate was received by the City Clerk, City Hall, Ann Arbor, Michigan, in an envelope without letter of explanation. The return address on the envelope is Town Clerk's Office, Town Hall, Brookline 47, Massachusetts. Detroit has a copy of the copy of the marriage certificate.

② - Bureau REGISTERED
2 - Boston REGISTERED
2 - Los Angeles REGISTERED
1 - Detroit
JRM: jmr
(7) 26

REC. 136

NOT RECORDED
186 SEP 26 1958

100-344-4820

3 SEP 15 1958

66 SEP 30 1958

DE [redacted]

b3

No identifiable information has been located in the Detroit files regarding [redacted] OTIS HAMILTON LEE, DOROTHY LEE and DOROTHY DEMETRACOPOULOU. The Detroit file shows that the wife of Subject EARL BROWDER was named RAISSA and thus these names correspond to the names listed as [redacted] This information has been forwarded for purpose of information.

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b7C

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. NEASE

DATE: 9-12-58

FROM : L. E. SHORT

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER;
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

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Boffman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
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Bulky Exhibit File Number: 40-3798-558

We are presently in the process of reviewing all bulky exhibits presently on hand, in order that we may weed out those which will serve no useful purpose by being retained. Inasmuch as a great many of these bulky exhibits pertain to inactive cases and are occupying badly needed space, it is requested that you have the appropriate substantive supervisor review the above-listed bulky exhibit and render a decision as to the retention or disposition of the material contained therein. A notation as to the decision rendered should be placed on this memorandum, and it should be returned to the Filing Unit of the Records Branch, Room 1113, Identification Building. This memorandum will be filed in the case file.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the above-listed bulky exhibit be reviewed and a decision rendered as to the retention or disposition of the material contained therein.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/01 BY [redacted]

9/16/58
Retain
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40-3798-
NOT RECORDED
6 SEP 25 1958
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340
50 SEP 25 1958

J. W. MARSHALL

Office Me

um • UNITED S

NMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798) DATE: 9/16/58

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
SM-C
PERJURY

ReNYlet to Bu dated, 7/30/58.

On 9/12/58, AUSA, SDNY JEROME J. LONDIN advised SA THOMAS J. CROKE, JR., that the case of EARL BROWDER is off the trial calendar.

LONDIN stated that permission has been received to file an order ~~to~~ nolle prosequi. He stated that there are some difficulties involved and he does not know when he will file a nolle prosequi.

He also stated that the provisions of EARL BROWDER'S bail bond have been expanded, allowing BROWDER to leave the jurisdiction of the Southern District of New York. The expanded provisions of the bail bond currently will be in effect from November, 1958, until February, 1959. LONDIN advised that if BROWDER leaves the jurisdiction of the court he must return within one week of notification by the court that he should return.

This case will continue to be followed with the AUSA, SDNY, and the Bureau will be advised of all pertinent developments.

This case is being maintained in a pending-inactive status in the NYO.

2 - Bureau (40-3798) (RM)
- New York (100-25693)

TJC:epo
(3)

25 SEP 18 1958

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
4/7/99 BY

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Floyd

Best Copy Available

SAC, New York (100-25693)

September 26, 1953

REC-40 Director, FBI (40-3798) - 799
EX. - 133

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
PERJURY

ReBulet 8-27-53 and reurlet 9-16-53.
Re WFO let 9-17-53.

Recent information concerning the captioned individual reflects that he contemplates a trip abroad in the near future. In addition, information has been received from Mr. Robert Johnson of the Passport Office, Department of State, that the Passport Office will undoubtedly honor the subject's application for a passport and will, therefore, issue Browder a passport for travel to Europe.

WFO check passport for any additional pertinent information concerning the subject's travel plans and make arrangements to be advised at the time a passport is actually issued to Browder.

New York alert appropriate informants and sources for any developments concerning subject's contemplated travel abroad, and keep the Bureau advised.

In view of the probable publicity connected with the issuance of a passport to Browder, any information to the effect that a passport is being or has been issued to him should be furnished to the Bureau expeditiously.

In the event you receive positive information of subject's plans to travel abroad, you should immediately submit appropriate copies of a memorandum for transmission to legal attaches.

2 - Washington Field (100-6003)

NOTE ON YELLOW: Browder was Financial Secretary of the Communist Party (CP) during the early 1940's and was expelled in 1945 after publication of Duclos letter.

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WHF:wlg

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5 OCT 2 1953

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COMM-FBI

note on yellow continued on page 2
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/7/99 BY

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Letter to New York
RE: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
40-3798

NOTE ON YELLOW continued

Browder has been the subject of a perjury investigation based on his testimony under oath that his wife was never a member of the CP. Case was referred by the Department to the United States Attorney, SDNY, and the AUSA has advised a nolle prosequi will be filed at an unknown future date. He stated that the case has been taken off the trial calendar. Information in re WFO let reflects subject has received court permission to go to Europe. Above information that Passport Office contemplates issuance of a passport to Browder was received from Mr. Robert Johnson of the Passport Office through Liaison Section.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

DATE: 9/17/58

JVB
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-6003)SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM - C; PERJURY
(OO: NY)

On 9/15/58, SA HILMER H. KREBS obtained one copy each of the following from the Passport Office, Department of State:

1. A letter from EARL BROWDER, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers 5, New York, dated 9/10/58, addressed to Mr. EDWARD J. HICKEY, Deputy Director for Administration, Passport Office, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

2. An order of the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, signed by DAVID N. EDELMSTEIN, United States District Judge, dated 9/8/58, in the case; United States of America against EARL BROWDER, defendant, C139-257.

The above copies of the documents listed were furnished to the Bureau's State Department Liaison representative, SA ORRIN BARTLETT.

The above letter from BROWDER refers to Passport Office letter dated 7/30/58 which was sent to him and also to the above court order which he enclosed to his letter dated 9/10/58 above. BROWDER mentioned that he did not plan to travel before November 1, and requested that a passport be sent to him during September for it to be of practical use to him.

The above court order permitted BROWDER to travel to Europe and to leave New York City on or about November 1, 1958, and to return on or about February 1, 1959. This order also stipulated that BROWDER "shall appear before this court within one week of the receipt by his attorney, who has signed a notice of appearance herein, of a written communication to that effect from the United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York." BROWDER consented to be bound by the provisions of this court order as did JEROME J. LONDIN, Assistant United States Attorney.

REC-1

40-3798-799

✓ (2 - Bureau
2 - New York (100-25693) (Encls. 6) (RM)
1 - WFO
WHA/cmw
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/7/99 BY [redacted]

SUBJ CONTROL

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WFO 100-6003

It is noted that ~~BROWDER~~ submitted an application for passport dated 2/11/58 at New York City. Herein ~~BROWDER~~ requested permission to depart from New York City on or about 4/1/58 via "ship" for an intended stay abroad in France, England, and possibly brief trips to Switzerland, Italy, and Yugoslavia for the purpose of visiting his son, [redacted] who was then spending a year in Europe on a National Science Foundation Fellowship. In this application ~~BROWDER~~ indicated that he was not at present a member of the Communist Party but had formerly been a member of the Communist Party from January, 1921, to February, 1946. He further indicated that the last passport issued to him was Passport Number 56860 issued on 4/5/46 at Washington, D. C.

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By letter dated 6/11/58 to the Passport Office, ~~BROWDER~~ referred to his application of February, 1958. He mentioned herein that he was compelled to cancel his plans for a trip to Europe in April and May of 1958 but that there was a possibility for him to renew his planned trip in August.

By letter dated 7/30/58, the Passport Office informed ~~BROWDER~~ that he was requested to submit evidence of his release from the bail restrictions imposed in September, 1952, as a result of the indictment rendered against him for violation of Section 1015 (a) of Title 18, U.S. Code, in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York.

It is noted that five photographic positives and one negative of the subject's photograph contained in his passport application of February, 1958, are attached as enclosures herewith for the New York Office. RUC.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. R. R. Roach *Re*FROM : Mr. O. H. Bartlett *of*SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER
IS - C

DATE: September 16, 1958

b6

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/01 BY [redacted]Tolson _____
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On September 15, 1958, Mr. Robert Johnson of the Passport Office furnished to me the enclosed documents relating to Earl Browder. One is a letter from Browder dated September 10, 1958, to the Passport Office, enclosing a copy of a court order which permits Browder to travel outside the jurisdiction of the court. Mr. Johnson advised that as a result of the recent Supreme Court decision, the Passport Office undoubtedly will issue a passport to Browder for travel to Europe.

b3

ACTION:

For information.

OHB:bjt:bjt
(4)1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Bartlett *fw*

EX-102

44-374-800

11 SEP 25 1958

5-115

6 ENCLOSURE
Enclosures REC-4
EX-10240-3798-169
50 SEP 29 1958

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GROWDER

Reed 9/16/58
Reed state of
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-27-01 BY [redacted]

arl growder

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COPIES DESTROYED

342 OCT 6 1970

40-3748-800
ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

-against-

WILLIAM BROWDER,

C 139-257

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RECORDED
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK
COURT OF APPEALS
BY

the defendant, will be present at the trial and to return to the Southern District of New York on business and pleasure on January 2, 1953 and to return on January 3, 1953.

AK 14

NOTIFIED that the defendant will be permitted to travel from the Southern District of New York to leave New York on November 1, 1952, to return on or before January 1, 1953, and it is

ORDERED that the defendant shall appear before this Court within one week of the trial date and who has filed a notice of appeal shall file a communication to the Clerk of the Court of Appeals of the Southern District of New York.

ACCD: JMW: LORL

40-3798-800
ENCLOSURE

SAC, New York

September 30, 1958

Director, FBI (61-626)

~~Confidential~~

SOCIALIST PARTY - SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION
INFORMATION CONCERNING

(Internal Security)

Re New York airtel dated 9-22-58 captioned
"William Z. Foster, IS - C; SA '40; ISA '50."

According to referenced airtel [redacted] advised on 9-18-58 that on that date Hy Luxer visited Foster. During the course of conversation with Foster, Luxer mentioned that Browder (Earl) had applied for a membership in the Socialist Party and that the Socialist Party's convention was held in Detroit and that they have 1,500 members in the entire country. (u)

For the information of New York, it is noted that the national convention of the Socialist Party - Socialist Democratic Federation (SP - SDF) was held in Detroit, Michigan, during the period May 30 through June 1, 1958. (u)

The Bureau has received no information previously, indicating that Browder has applied for membership in the SP. You are accordingly instructed to contact established sources, contacts, and informants in an effort to ascertain whether he has, in fact, joined the SP - SDF. No active investigation of the SP - SDF should be conducted and the requested information must be submitted to reach the Bureau by October 15, 1958. (u)

1 - 61-330 (William Z. Foster)
1 - 100-3-69 (Communist Party, USA Organization)
1 - 40-3798 (Earl Browder) (u)

JFM:mjc

(7)

4-2-82

CLASS. & EXT. BY [redacted]

REASON-FCIM II

DATE OF REVIEW 4-2-50

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11/28/90
CLASS. & EXT. BY [redacted]
REASON-FCIM II, 7-64-2
DATE OF REVIEW 11/28/90

~~Confidential~~

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

DATE: 10/6/58

7 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
SM - C; PERJURY

Re NY1st to Bureau dated 9/16/58 and Bulet to NY dated 9/26/58.

On 10/3/58 AUSA, SDNY JEROME J. LONDIN advised SA THOMAS J. CROKE, Jr. that he had been told by O. JOHN ROGGE, subject's lawyer, that on 10/28/58 EARL BROWDER was going to appear on a TV program in Providence, Rhode Island.

EARL BROWDER currently resides at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY and is engaged in writing at his home.

The "New York Herald Tribune" of 10/1/52 referred to EARL BROWDER as the General Secretary of the Communist Party from 1930 to 1944.

An article by LOUIS BUDENZ appearing in the "Daily Worker", 5/23/44, page 2, reflected that EARL BROWDER was elected as President of the Communist Political Association on 5/22/44.

According to the "Daily Worker" of 2/14/46, EARL BROWDER was expelled from the Communist Party 2/12/46, by the Yonkers Branch to which he belonged.

The "New York Times" of 2/14/46 in an article captioned, "Browder Is Expelled By Communist Party As Betrayer And Deserter To Capitalism" set forth information to the effect that the National Committee of the Communist Party had accepted the recommendation of the National Board and had expelled EARL BROWDER, former secretary, as a member of the Party "for gross violation of Party discipline and decisions and active opposition to the political line and leadership of our Party, for developing factional activity and for betraying the principles of Marxism-Lenism and deserting to the side of the class enemy, American monopoly capitalism."

2 - Bureau (40-3798) (RM) REC-86
2 - Boston (Encls. 2) (RM)
1 - New York (100-25693) (7-4)

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60 OCT 10 1958

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/7/94 BY SP-2

801
60 OCT 10 1958

Letter to Director, FBI
New York 100-25693

BROWDER was interviewed on television on 2/26/57 by MIKE WALLACE on the program "Nightbeat" and again by MIKE WALLACE on 6/2/57. He was also interviewed on the NBC-TV program "Today" on 8/27/58.

During these interviews he defended his leadership of the CP and denied that the CP ever received any orders from Moscow. During the interview conducted on 2/26/57 BROWDER stated that he is no longer a Communist and considers himself a Socialist and a good American.

Boston is requested to ascertain on what TV program BROWDER is to appear. Boston is also requested to monitor the program and furnish the results to the Bureau and New York.

The following is a description of BROWDER:

Name	EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
DOB	5/20/91
	"Ichita, Kansas
Color	White
Sex	Male
Height	5'8"
Hair	Grey
Weight	165-170 lbs.
Eyes	Blue
Build	Medium
Complexion	Sallow
Peculiarities	Wears mustache, wears grey tweed cap or battered fedora
Residence	7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY Apt. 3F
Occupation	Does writing from his home

Enclosed for the Boston Office are two photographs of the subject.

DIA, New York (100-25693)

October 3, 1958

Director, FBI (40-3708)

J
 EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
 SECURITY LATER - C
 PERJURY

ReBulet 9-26-58.

Information received 10-3-58, via liaison from Passport Division, Department of State, that subject was issued Passport Number 1243188, 10-3-58. The passport will be valid only for the period 11-1-58, to 2-1-59.

Washington Field immediately check passport records for all available information concerning subject's travel plans and advise the Bureau and New York.

New York handle in accordance with instructions set forth in relet. Immediately submit memorandum for dissemination to Legal Attachés and interested agencies.

2 - Washington Field (100-6003)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Browder was financial secretary of the Communist Party (CP) during the early 1940's and was expelled in 1945 after publication of Duclos letter. Browder has been subject of a perjury investigation based on his testimony under oath that his wife was never a member of the CP. Department referred case to United States Attorney in New York and information has been received that a ~~nolle~~ prosequi will be filed. In relet New York was advised that subject would probably be issued a passport and that if this was done New York should determine travel plans, etc.

WHF:fbm
(6) 11/

53 OCT 10 1958

MAIL ROOM

REC-28 44-1771-8
 EX-132 10 OCT 7 1958

MAILED TO	OCT 3 - 1958
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Best Copy
Available

Mr. J. A. Belmont

October 7, 1958

Mr. J. F. Bland

ERIK EARL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/01 BY [redacted]

By airtel 10-8-58 Washington Field Office advised that Earl Russell Browder had been issued a passport for the purpose of visiting France, England, and possibly brief trips to Switzerland, Italy, and Yugoslavia to visit his son [redacted] who is spending a year in Europe on a fellowship from the National Science Foundation (NSF). The Director asked to be advised if the NSF is supported by the Government.

The NSF was established by Congressional act in 1950 as an independent agency in the Executive Branch of the Government. It is supported by Congressional appropriations and is established for the purpose of promoting progress of science. The act establishing the Foundation authorizes it to award scholarships and graduate fellowships for scientific study at accredited nonprofit American or nonprofit foreign institutions of higher education.

United States Government Organization Manual for 1957-58 lists the director of the NSF as Alan T. Waterman. He was subject of a special inquiry applicant-type investigation conducted at the request of the Department of Defense during the Summer of 1954. Summaries were furnished to the Secretary of Defense, the White House, and the Attorney General. Investigation showed that Waterman had taken a strong position in favor of Dr. Edward U. Condon during the period when Condon was under attack by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Information was also developed that Waterman favored inviting a Russian scientist to address a convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. His son has received the "Daily Worker" and his daughter taught school in Poland from 1946 to 1948.

100-344948

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(1) - 40-3788 (Earl Russell Browder)
1 - 62-86413 (National Science Foundation)

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Holloman _____
Gandy MAIL ROOM [redacted]
W. C. Sullivan

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

RE:

100-344948

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Chairman of the National Science Board, which is a part of the NSF, is Detlev W. Bronk. Bronk was president of the National Academy of Sciences and information concerning him was requested by General Cutler, Special Assistant to the President, during 4-57 as Bronk had been invited along with eight other individuals to attend a meeting at the White House on 4-30-57. Bronk attended the 200th jubilee of the Soviet Science Academy in Moscow during 6-45 following which he extolled the achievements of the Soviet Union. While president of John Hopkins University 1949-53, he allegedly hired or retained faculty members of doubtful loyalty, specifically Owen Lattimore. Bronk testified before Congressional Joint Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) on 5-17-49 against FBI investigation of applicants for AEC fellowships claiming this would interfere with free play of scientific thought. Bronk was admitted into full membership in the Soviet Union Academy of Sciences during 6-58 along with Dr. Linus C. Pauling.

[redacted] is the son of Earl Russell Browder and is the subject of a crude security investigation. He has never been included on the Security Index and investigation did not reveal any Communist Party (CP) membership, front activity, or frequent association with CP members on his part. He was born in Russia 7-20-27 and graduated from Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1946. He was characterized as a brilliant mathematician and following his graduation served on the staff of MIT as an instructor. He was inducted into the Army 12-4-53. Newspaper account 8-17-55 reported that he was to be soon released from the Army and had been appointed assistant professor at Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts.

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ACTION:

None. For information.

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October 8, 1953

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b7C

Honorable Richard M. Nixon
The Vice President
Washington 25, D. C.
Dear Dick..

360
Dear Dick,

1 2

② passport was issued on October 3, 1958, to Earl Russell. The Department of State has advised that a Communist Party in the United States. In his application for passport previously made February 11, 1958, he indicated that one of the reasons for his proposed travel in Europe on a fellowship from the National Science Foundation is an independent agency in the executive branch of the Government which is supported by congressional appropriations.

② I thought you would be interested in Earl Browder's son is the recipient of a National Science Foundation grant to Moscow, Russia, on October 3, 1958. He graduated from the National Science Foundation in 1953.

BGLP:baw:rmw
4) 14 1958
L ROOM

MAILED 19
OCT-15-1958
COM-A-FEI

Office Number dum • UN

GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
SM - C

DATE: 10/9/58

ReBulet dated 10/3/58.

Enclosed herewith are eight copies of a letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above concerning the activities of EARL BROWDER. Also enclosed are eight copies of a letterhead memorandum relating to the reliability of an informant.

There are also being enclosed eight copies of a photograph of EARL BROWDER for dissemination to the appropriate Legal Attaches.

The informant mentioned in enclosed letterhead memorandum and who furnished information on April 26 and May 25, 1950, is identified as [redacted]

b7D

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is marked "confidential" since the data reported by the confidential informant, mentioned in said letterhead memorandum, could reasonably result in identification of a confidential informant of continuing value and compromise his future effectiveness.

REC-3 EXCERPT

2 - Bureau (40-3798) (Encls. 24) (RM)
1 - New York (100-25693)

804

TJC:mfw
(3)

REC-6 10/9/58

REC-10 10/9/58
REC-10 10/9/58
REC-10 10/9/58
REC-10 10/9/58ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/8/99 BY [redacted]b6
b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 40-3798

New York file 100-25693

New York, New York
October 9, 1958**CONFIDENTIAL**

Re: Earl Russell Browder, with aliases,
Earl Browder, Joseph Dixon, Joseph
Ward, Albert Underwood, Earl Russell,
Earl Wingate, Earl W. Ringrose, Irl
Broder, Nicholas Dozenberg, George
Morris, Albert Henry Richards,
Mr. Porter
Security Matter - C

Browder was issued a passport, number 1243188, on 10-3-58
valid from 11-1-58 to 2-1-59. He had previously indicated his intention
to travel to France, England, and possibly make brief trips to
Switzerland, Italy, and Yugoslavia. He gave the purpose of his
intended travel as visiting his son, [redacted] who was spending a year
in England on a National Science Foundation fellowship.

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The publication, "Who's Who In The East 1942-1943," sets
forth information that Earl Browder was a member of the National
Committee, Communist Party, USA, since 1921, Director, Pan Pacific
Trade Union Secretariat, Hankow and Shanghai, 1927-1929, and
General Secretary, Communist Party (CP), USA, 1930.

The CPUSA has been designated by the Attorney General
of the United States as an organization pursuant to Executive
Order 10450.

The annual report by the Committee on Un-American Activities
in the year 1953, dated February 6, 1954, prepared and released by
the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of
Representatives, Washington, D. C., page 106, sets forth information
to the effect that the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and its
parent organization, the Shanghai Branch of the Far Eastern Bureau,
were the most important and highly organized apparatus for the
Comintern labor activities in the Far East during the late 1920's and
early 1930's. COPIES DESTROYED

342 OCT 6 1970
Earl Browder was the CPUSA nominee for the office of
President of the United States in 1936 and 1940.

10-34-58:
RECEIVED BY C.I.A. OCT 10 1970
RECORDED IN INDEX
SEARCHED INDEXED SERIALIZED FILED
Each released and unclassified
representee does that, upon
request, be informed of activities
of which it becomes to their
knowledge. The information
so released on S.D. 1 copy of
each document to each
representee. (b)(1)(D)
10-34-58: amended page sent 10-28-80-7

DECLASSIFIED BY
CJ 4/8/99 #b6
b7C

ENCLOSURE

40-3474-804

CONFIDENTIAL



United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Bureau file 40-3798
New York file 100-25693

New York, New York
October 9, 1958

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Earl Russell Browder, with aliases,
Earl Browder, Joseph Dixon, Joseph
Ward, Albert Underwood, Earl Russell,
Earl Wingate, Earl W. Ringrose, Irl
Broder, Nicholas Dozenberg, George Morris,
Albert Henry Richards, Mr. Porter
Security Matter - C

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The CPUSA has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States as an organization pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

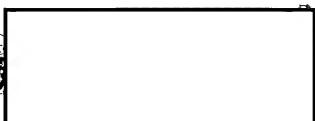
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Earl Browder was the CPUSA nominee for the office of President of the United States in 1936 and 1940.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4/8/99



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The "New York Herald Tribune" of October 1, 1952, refers to Earl Browder as the General Secretary of the CP from 1930 to 1944.

An article by Louis Budenz appearing in the "Daily Worker," May 23, 1944, page 2, reflects that Earl Browder was elected as President of the Communist Political Association (CPA) on May 22, 1944.

The CPA has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication with its issue of January 13, 1958.

On October 23, 1939, an indictment was filed charging Earl Russell Browder, alias George Morris, Alias Nicholas Dozenberg, alias Albert Henry Richards, with violation of Section 220, Title 22, United States Code, for the use of passports obtained by means of false statements. The trial began on January 17, 1940, and a verdict of guilty was returned on January 22, 1940.

"The New York Times" of May 18, 1942, in an article captioned, "Browder Eludes Welcomers Here," contains information to the effect that Earl Browder's four year sentence for passport fraud was commuted by President Roosevelt.

The "Daily Worker" of June 5, 1940, reflected that the National Committee had elected a new political committee of the CP, and that Earl Browder had been elected to the Political Committee of the CP.

The "Daily Worker" for November 29, 1944, page 5, column 2, refers to Earl Browder as Editor-in-Chief of the "Daily Worker."

On April 26, 1950, an informant advised that in connection with the functioning of the Secret Apparatus of the CP, during the leadership of Earl Browder, Browder was aware of the Secret Apparatus and was engaged in its supervision and one of the few, if not the only one, aware of the identity of the individuals engaged in this Secret Apparatus work.

On May 25, 1950, this same informant advised that insofar as the international aspects of the CP were concerned, that is, its dealings with Moscow and other countries, this was solely and chiefly run by Earl Browder and this activity was always considered Browder's "Baby."

According to the "Daily Worker" of February 14, 1946, Earl Browder was expelled from the CP February 12, 1946, by the Yonkers Branch to which he belonged.

The "New York Herald Tribune," dated March 22, 1953, in an article captioned, "Browder's Silence Ends, Now Out Against Russia," written by Marguerite Higgins, reads in part as follows:

"After eight years of self-imposed silence about Russia, Earl Browder, former number one American Communist, announced yesterday his active opposition to Soviet style Communism and his intention to organize a 'Democratic left' that will combine 'Jeffersonian concepts of representative Government and a Socialist economy.'"

Browder was interviewed on television on February 26, 1957, by Mike Wallace on the program, "Nightbeat," and again by Mike Wallace on June 2, 1957. He was interviewed on the NBC television program, "Today," on August 27, 1958.

During these interviews, he defended his leadership of the CP, and denied that the CP ever received any orders from Moscow. During the interview conducted on February 26, 1957, Browder stated that he is no longer a Communist and considers himself a Socialist and a good American.

The following physical description was obtained from the publication, "Current Biography," 1944 edition, Immigration and Naturalization Service records, New York City, records of the Identification Division, FBI, and by the personal observation of Special Agent Daniel H. Lucking:

Name	Earl Russell Browder
Sex	Male
Race	White

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date of Birth	May 20, 1891
Residence	Wichita, Kansas Apartment 3-F, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York
Height	5' 8"
Weight	165-170
Build	Medium
Hair	Grey
Eyes	Blue
Complexion	Sallow
Peculiarities	Wears mustache, wears grey tweed cap or battered fedora Does occasional writing from his home
Occupation	Widower
Marital Status	Raissa Irene Berkman Browder, deceased
Wife	
Immediate Relatives	
FBI number	Ralph Browder - brother
Fingerprint	William Browder - father
Classification	Martha Hankins Browder - mother 286042
	20 0 27 W 100 21 Ref 19 L 19 W 010 19

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This is loaned to you by the Federal Bureau of Investigation
and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside the
agency to which loaned.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Bureau file 40-3798
New York file 100-25693

New York, New York
October 9, 1958

Re: Earl Russell Browder, with aliases,
Earl Browder, Joseph Dixon, Joseph
Ward, Albert Underwood, Earl Russell
Earl Wingate, Earl W. Ringrose, Irl
Broder, Nicholas Dozenberg, George Morris,
Albert Henry Richards, Mr. Porter
Security Matter - C

Reference is made to the letterhead memorandum,
dated and captioned as above, concerning the activities of
the subject.

The informant mentioned in referenced letterhead
memorandum has furnished reliable information in the past.

This is loaned to you by the Federal Bureau of
Investigation and neither it nor its contents are to be
distributed outside the agency to which loaned.

RECORDED
DATE 4/8/99 BY [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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342 OCT 6 1970

ENCLOSURE

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/10 BY [redacted]

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b7C

8 ENCLOSURES TO THE BUREAU

8 Photographs of Subject
BUFILE 40-3798
NY FILE 100-25693

1 copy each to
[redacted] Legate London, Paris,
Romney, Bern
by R/S 10-24-58 RF

b3

BUFILE 40-3798
NYFILE 100-25693

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DATE 12/17/01 BY

b6
b7C

40-3798-804

AIRTEL

Best Copy Available

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

10/3/58

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-6003)

July 22
22
EARL RUSSELL BROUNDER
SM - C (Security MATTER - COMMUNIST)
PERJURY

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Nease
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Mr. W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

ReBUulet, 9/26/58.

On 10/3/58, Mr. CARROLL H. SEELEY, JR., Passport Office, Department of State, furnished the file of EARL RUSSELL BROUNDER to SA HILMER H. KREBS.

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The file reflects that on 10/3/58 Passport 1243186 was issued to EARL RUSSELL BROUNDER, whose date of birth was 5/20/91, Wichita, Kansas. The passport is valid for the period from November 1, 1958, to February 1, 1959. It is noted to be amended, extended or revalidated without the express authorization of the Department of State. The passport was still attached to the subject's file. It is to be mailed to BROUNDER with a letter from the Passport Office, advising him of the limitations on the passport, which had not been sent as of 3:30 a.m., 10/3/58.

The application for the passport reflects BROUNDER resides at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, N.Y. On 2/11/58 BROUNDER applied for the passport, stating he wanted to visit France, England and possibly brief trips to Switzerland, Italy, and Yugoslavia to visit his son [redacted] who was spending a year in Europe on a National Science Foundation Fellowship. BROUNDER admitted he was a CP member from January, 1921, to February, 1946.

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The file reflected that Mr. ROBERT D. JOHNSON, Passport Office, had on 10/3/58 given Miss BERNARD, FBI Liaison, [redacted] information concerning the issuance of a passport to BROUNDER.

The file contained no information as to any travel plans other than those indicated on his application for passport, dated 2/11/58. REC-85 40-3798-805

Mr. SEELEY stated the subject's passport will be mailed to the subject's home address, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, N.Y. RUC.

OCT 14 1958

SUBV. CONTROL

3 - Bureau

2 - New York (100-25693) *RM*

1 - WFO

MMK: FMP 16 1958
(6) REC-85 40-3798-805

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REC-85 40-3798-805

AIRTEL

SENT DIRECTOR

10-1-58

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798) DATE: 10/30/58

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
SM - C; PERJURY

ReBulets dated 9/26/58 and 10/3/58.

The New York "Post", issue of 10/26/58, page 22, contains an article entitled "Browder London Visit OKd." This article stated that EARL BROWDER has received a passport and "will leave for London on Nov. 16 to discuss publication there of his new book, 'Marx and America'".

Every effort will be made to ascertain BROWDER's itinerary and upon receipt of the information the Bureau will be immediately advised.

On 10/28/58 AUSA LAURENCE McGAULEY of the SDNY advised that permission to file a nolle prosequi has been granted by the U. S. Department of Justice in the perjury case against BROWDER. McGAULEY stated that certain facets of filing this nolle prosequi is still being considered by Washington.

This case will continue to be followed with the AUSA, SDNY, and the Bureau will be advised of all pertinent developments.

1 - Bureau (40-3798) (RM)
1 - New York (100-25693) (7-4)

TJC:RML
(3)

EX-132
REC-23

40-3798-806

OCT 31 1958

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/8/99 BY [redacted]

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

DATE: 11/7/58

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-2608)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
SM - C; PERJURY

Re New York letter dated 10/6/58.

On 10/28/58, SA JOSEPH A. OXLEY monitored the TV program entitled "World Around Us." This program is broadcast over Station WJAR-TV, Providence, R. I., and appears on Tuesday and Thursdays of each week at 9:00 A.M. BETTY ADAMS, Educational Program Director of the WJAR-TV, is the moderator of the program and was the person who interviewed the subject on 10/28/58 at 9:00 A.M. over Station WJAR-TV. The subject appeared personally on the program and the results were taped.

Boston is transcribing this tape and the results will be forwarded by 11/14/58.

There is also forwarded to the Bureau and New York photostatic copy of an article appearing in the Providence Evening Bulletin on 10/28/58, summarizing Mr. BROWDER's talk.

② - Bureau (40-3798) (Enc.1) (RM)
 2 - New York (100-25693) (Enc.1) (RM)
 1 - Boston (100-2608)

FMC:maj
(5)

REC-60

EX-102

25 NOV 10 1958

ENCLOSURE

REC-60

SUB-B6C
D. J. J. B.
W. C. S.F 460-1112
51 NOV 18 1958ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/8/99 BY [redacted]b6
b7c

Browder Credits Red Gains to U.S. Errors

By GEORGE POPKIN

Earl Browder, fallen archangel of American communism, remarked that if the Soviet said here today this country's leaders didn't have so many unpolicy toward the undeveloped nations is giving Russia easy diplomatic victories.

The dethroned former head of the American Communist Party, Browder was in Providence to appear on "The World Around Us" program on WJAR-TV.

Beheaded politically in 1946 for alleged vast heresies, Mr. Browder admitted there might be something in what was said about him then.

He declared that he is indeed a "revisionist," as accused, but that the Russians are even greater "revisionists" of Marxist doctrine than he. Mr. Browder threw up his hands when discussing the Chinese Reds. They, he asserted, are the greatest "revisionists" of all.

The difference, the soft-spoken, bourgeois-looking man with the gray mustache said, is that he is for progressive revisionism, making allowance for socialist tendencies in American life, attuned to this century.

The Russians, Mr. Browder said, are revising Marx backwards, making him much more doctrinaire than he ever was.

The man who had been charged at the time of his ouster with wanting to cooperate with capitalism in some

said had this to say of Soviet foreign policy success:

They (the Russians) by

Continued on Page 27, Col. 4

Browder

Boston Traveler

Boston Herald

Boston Globe

Boston American

Boston Record

Christian Science Monitor

Pro, Excr 13ulletin
Date: 10/28/58 Octov
Edition:

Author or

Editor:

Title: Earl Russell
Browder - Sm-C

Class. or
Character: Sm-C - Perjury.

Page: 1 or 27

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/8/99 BY

#

Sign policy success:
They (the Russians) by
Continued on Page 27, Col. 4

Browder

b6

b7C

40-111-807

Browder

Continued

merging with rising nationalism, as in China, identified themselves with the aspiration of the people. If America doesn't understand that, it will continue to have diplomatic defeats in a large part of the world.

"The Soviets give the undeveloped nations a realistic hope of achieving their aspirations. The United States doesn't give them that hope. We have a low capacity of leading others into the 20th century although we have more than we can offer. Our ways are rigid in conduct of foreign affairs. In that respect this country is more given to dogma than the men in the Kremlin. Take this adherence to Chiang, right or wrong, today, tomorrow, and forever."

Mr. Browder, 67, is a very unrevolutionary looking and acting man. Mild mannered, given to quiet speech and reflection at each question, he gives the appearance of a college professor.

His mouth, however, is tightly drawn in determination. Occasionally his blue eyes glint as he discusses some old quarrel within the party to which he devoted the better part of his life.

Mr. Browder said of his present political position, "I am not a Communist." He went on to say a bit sadly, "There is no classification for me in world politics. I was profoundly influenced by Marx. But I don't even consider myself a Marxist."

Speaking reflectively, with the well thought out caution of a chess player, Mr. Browder said he felt America would not accept dogma, Marxist or any other. To insist upon a rigid position has weakened and practically destroyed the Communist party in this country, he stated.

Mr. Browder did not speak kindly of American Communist leadership. "Stupid" was one of his weaker appellations. He said they had "cut themselves off from American traditions."

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

DATE: 11/13/58

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-2608)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
SM - C; PERJURY

Re Boston letter to the Bureau dated 11/7/58.

There is forwarded to the Bureau one copy of the monitored TV program over WJAR, Providence, Rhode Island, 10/28/58, in which BETTY ADAMS acted as moderator.

Also forwarded to New York are three copies of this transcription together with the tape.

For the further information of the New York Division, SA JOSEPH A. OXLEY monitored this TV program on 10/28/58.

1A

② - Bureau (40-3798) (Enc.1) (RM)
 2 - New York (100-25693) (Encs.4) (RM)
 1 - Boston (100-2608)

FMC:maj
(5)

ENCLOSURE

EX - 124

REC-19

4-11-808

24 NOV 17 1958

SUBJ CONTROL
CUSTODIAL REQUESTALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 4/8/99 BY [redacted]b6
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67 NOV 19 1958

REF ID: A632474767
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/01 BY [redacted]

BS 100-2608
JAO:maj

Appearance of EARL BROWDER,
WJAR-TV, Providence, R.I.
October 28, 1958

Good morning, and welcome to our special Tuesday-Thursday series of programs.

Before you have a chance to talk with our guest this morning, I'd like to give you a few of the vital statistics so that you'll have an idea of some of the background of our very important guest.

In 1891 in Wichita, Kansas, EARL BROWDER was born. He has been a student of Marx since 1907 and has been an active trade unionist since 1914. He was director of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat in Shanghai between 1927 and 1929 and then a member of the National Committee of the American Communist Party from 1921 to 1945 and its secretary from 1930 to 1945. Then, in 1945, he was expelled from the Communist Party as a revisionist and as you, I'm sure, know, he has written many, many articles and many, many books and I am holding in my hand the book which has just recently been published in September of this year, which is a very thoughtful analysis, in Mr. BROWDER's leisure time he has devoted himself to this kind of thinking, a thoughtful analysis of Marx in relationship to America.

Well, Mr. EARL BROWDER, I am very delighted to have you here to answer some of the questions that many people I know would like to ask of you and I'd like to ask a question right off.

(Q.) What do you mean when you say here in your book early in the second chapter that no one can accept or reject Marxism in total, in short, everyone is a revisionist?

(A.) Yes, I think that it has been demonstrated over the centuries since Marx wrote his most important works that Marx contributed something to the general stream of intellectual development of the whole world and everyone has been influenced by them that has accepted part of the things that he was the first to see and speak out on. At the same time, no one, even the most ardent followers of Marx, has been able to maintain his original doctrine intact. They have had to take notice that the developments in the world not foreseen by Marx and, therefore, which required an adjustment of even those who claim to be orthodox Marxists and in addition to that people have been influenced by the particular situations that they have been in, like the Russians who claim to be the most orthodox of Marxists have been the most drastic revisionists of Marx, and one of the fundamental tenets of Marx which forecasts the development

BS 100-2608
JAO:maj

of Socialism as a direct outgrowth of the highest capitalist development, whereas the Russians have introduced Socialism in one of the backward countries and, therefore, in a way not harmonious with the main body of Marxist doctrine.

(Q.) I would like to ask you some specific definitions, if I may, Mr. BROWDER, what is a Communist?

(A.) Well, that's very difficult to define, especially in America where we have had accusations made that even President ROOSEVELT was a Communist or strongly influenced by Communism or Socialism, but, of course, these very broad definitions that take in so many trends and so many people are of no practical use whatever. Still, there is a certain sense in which it is true, say, that everybody has become more or less of a Socialist.

(Q.) In America?

(A.) In America and most of the world.

(Q.) Can you give me an example?

(A.) While the word, "Socialism," is in bad repute in America, the actuality of social development which is at the heart of Socialism is perhaps more advanced in this country than anywhere.

(Q.) Give me a for instance.

(A.) For instance, the basic idea of Marx in the founding of scientific Socialism was that it was necessary in order to distribute the benefits of modern industrialization to the mass of the people. Marx felt that could not be done under capitalism, but in America without changing fundamentally the capitalist system, we have achieved a greater development of the distribution of the benefits of modern industrialization to the people than in any other country including Russia.

(Q.) By legalistic means?

(A.) Oh, yes, as a matter of fact, all developments are legal. Even in Russia, the main body of the development of life is under laws; therefore, legal, and the revolutionary extra legal phases of development occur only at certain moments.

BS 100-2608
JAO:maj

(Q.) I would like to ask you about the Communist Party in the United States. Was this Communist Party in America founded here or was it founded as a result of agents or instruments who were sent from the Soviet Union to found the party in this country?

(A.) The Communist movement in America was founded by members of the old Socialist Party that existed in America for years. I was, for example, a long-time member of the Socialist Party and had been associated with some of the factions in that it later developed into the left wing that founded the Communist Party.

(Q.) Well, during your attendance, Mr. BROWDER -----

(A.) I must say to complete the answer to your question that while it was not founded by agents from abroad, it was deeply influenced by the events abroad and it was largely the inspiration of the setting up of what claimed to be a socialist system in Russia that brought about the crystallization of the Communist Parties everywhere, including America.

(Q.) Is there, then, a very strong tangible relationship between Communist Parties in all countries to make and create a Communist International Party?

(A.) There was for many years a quite strong association among the Communist Parties until in 1943 the Communist International, the association of communist parties, was dissolved as having outlived its usefulness. Since that time the centralizing influence in the Communist world movement has not been an association of parties. It has merely been the moral authority of the Russians as the most powerful center of the Communist thought which has exerted itself without direct contacts and not necessarily with direct contacts although they have them with the countries most closely around Russia, and I must say that in my opinion this has been a retrograde movement and has resulted in divorcing Communism as a movement in the west from the main I think the Communists had quite a close connection with historical development even in the west for a period but that since the second World War and the dissolution of the Communist International, that organic relation of Communists to the historical development has been broken.

BS 100-2608
JAO:maj

(Q.) You said that it has outlived its usefulness. What was the purpose of the Communist International Party?

(A.) It was to provide the forum whereby the Communists could meet and collectively determine their course of action on the main points which affected all countries.

(Q.) The statement that I believe is a reasonably accurate quotation from Marx at the conclusion in his Manifesto says "Working men of all countries unite" which follows the statement about the idea of revolution. Is this the goal of the Communists - world revolution in an active sense?

(A.) Well, I don't think we get much insight into the historical development by fastening attention on phrases of that kind because while there may be a certain element of real description in them, there are so many other modifying influences that you get a completely distorted picture. For example, Communists everywhere in the world have achieved successes in a serious way only to the degree that they have been able to merger themselves with the rising nationalisms of their country so that we'll find the most serious developments of Communism, for example, China from about primarily through first the identification of the Chinese Communists with the national aspirations of the Chinese people.

(Q.) Well, wasn't CHIANG interested in that, too?

(A.) In the words, yes, but in deeds he did nothing for the development of China. China remained stagnant, backward under CHIANG and there was no movement towards real regeneration of the nation. It took the Communists to make that in China and if America doesn't begin to understand that, they will continue to have surprises and have diplomatic defeats because a large part, the largest part of the world is composed of under-developed countries with strong nationalist aspirations and determination to master modern industrialism. The Russians or the Russian Communists and their followers in these countries give them what seems to be a realistic hope of achieving that. America has not yet learned how to give these countries any hope of quick development into the twentieth century by following the American example. Russia has the highest development of her own economy but has the lowest development of the capacity to lead other countries into the modern era.

BS 100-2608

JAO:maj

(Q.) Well, if Communism is able to do this and Communists have the startingism or tools, whichever word one wishes to use, why is it that the Communist Party is as you describe it in your book on page 79, now today only a handful, dissolved down to a handful of fanatics?

(A.) Yes, that description is of the Communist Party of America, not of the world Communist movement.

(Q.) What happened here?

(A.) Well, I would say particularly in America but also generally in the industrialized west, the Communists have lost their dynamic connection with the course of history. They offer no advance to these countries and in America particularly our American Communists who are so stupid to deliberately cut themselves off from the American tradition and became a laughing stock in this country.

(Q.) Mr. BROWDER, you were expelled from the Communist Party because of your revisionism of the Marxist, Leninist, Stalinist philosophy. Tell me, on what specific point were you expelled and who did expell you?

(A.) Oh, I was expelled by the American Communists but under the influence of the Russians exerted specifically through an article published by a Communist. One can add his own opinion as to why it occurred at that particular time. My opinion is that it was because I had projected very strongly the aim of creating a close friendship and alliance between America and Russia.

(Q.) Mr. BROWDER, if you had not been expelled in 1945, would you have left the Party of your own accord?

(A.) If the Party had developed along the line that followed, I certainly would, and they were perhaps wiser than I when they saw that it was inevitable that we have a parting of the ways and they kicked me out before I realized the necessity of that parting.

(Q.) If you should be invited by Mr. KHRUSHCHEV or by anyone in the Soviet hierarchy in the Communist Party to resume your activities of leadership with the Communist Party in America, would you accept this invitation?

BS 100-2608
JAO:maj

(A.) Oh, I think that's such a wild surmise it's hardly worth considering but I can only say that it would take a good deal to convince me that there had been a fundamental change in line that made possible a resumption of what was a healthy development of the Communist trend of thought. The Communists in America made some contributions to American history in helping to bring about the social legislation that is such a marked characteristic of this country now in places that this country has built.

(Q.) You mean that was part of an active program of the Communist Party?

(A.) Oh, yes, we were in the forefront of that whole development for social legislation, unemployment insurance, and so on, in America.

(Q.) Were you considered subversive in those activities?

(A.) Well, unemployment insurance was considered subversive then; in the early 1930's, in fact, the labor movement was opposed to it and it was quite a turn in revolution in American thought when this became accepted.

(Q.) Mr. BROWDER, today a lot of Americans use the term, "Communist front," very easily, very glibly, in referring to certain incidents taking place in the South as being created by Communist agitation and so forth across the country. Are there Communist fronts that are acting to disunite this country?

(A.) I don't know of any. I don't know of any. The Communists are very ineffective in America. They can't make a front on anything or anywhere and they are so without influence that they have nothing to occupy themselves with except internal discussions among a handful of people.

(Q.) When you were in control of the Communist Party in America as Secretary, did you have specific orders, did you run this party in this country on the direction of the party in the Cominform in Soviet Russia?

(A.) No, during the period when I was the Secretary of the Communist Party, the Russians kept their hands off pretty much of the American Party. They interfered in some other parties pretty drastically but in America they let us go our own way largely,

BS 100-2608
JAO:maj

I think, because as I figured it out in the years since I parted company with them, largely because we were in the period of my leadership the Party had gained some influence in the country and this influence tended to help the Soviet Union as well as America because it was directed towards bringing the two countries closer together. The Russians wanted that then and after the war they have obviously decided that they didn't want closer relations with America any more. That's why they no longer look with favor upon me.

(Q.) Mr. BROWDER, one of the things that, the problem or question rather, I should say, of many individuals is what is the appeal of Communism and the American Communist Party for individuals who are financially way above average -- some very unusually wealthy people have been strong supporters of the Communist Party. How is this reconciled ideologically?

(A.) Well, I think it is very easily understood when you consider that such people are people of rather tender consciences who realize their own unworthiness for the privileged position into which they have been born, their consciences bother them and they find a quick and easy way by appearing to join hands with the underdogs.

(Q.) I'm thinking especially of some of the people in the world of the arts, in the theater, and so forth, who have supported financially as well in other ways the Communist movement in this country. Have they ever been promised jobs such as, well, ballet or something?

(A.) No, nothing so crude as that. As a matter of fact, you will find this is nothing new in American history. The original Communist movements of the early nineteenth century had some of their strongest support in America and from some of the men who played the biggest role in the national development of America. The Eutopian Communists and Socialists of the early 1800's found great support in America and from prominent and wealthy people. I've only to mention the communes that were set up all over America, the experiments and communal living which were supported by some of the great newspaper men of America.

BS 100-2608
JAO:maj

(Q.) What about the communes that the Peiping government in China has just recently announced?

(A.) That's something entirely different and something quite new.

(Q.) What is there common about this?

(A.) It has no direct relations with the development of Marxist doctrine at all. That's quite contrary to the way Marx foresaw the development towards socialism.

(Q.) Are you saying Mr. NILE is a revisionist?

(A.) The Chinese have become again among the most drastic revisionists of Marx.

(Q.) Well, what is going to happen in the relationship with China and Russia? Has Russia ever done anything quite as drastic as the type of commune that China has just announced?

(A.) No, no, no, nothing of the kind in the history of any of the

(Q.) Well, who is calling the terms between China and Russia? Is it the government of Peiping and Moscow. Is it two individuals who are powerful or is it the Communist Party as a worldwide movement with individuals in positions of power within the Party?

(A.) There're two great societies which are mutually influencing one another. Nobody's the boss there but the Russians have the position of the initiative in the sense that they have the greatest development of modern industry, they have the prior positions in international affairs and the Chinese are still in the position of being faced with the challenge to their right to belong to the international community. American's position on China throws China into the arms of Moscow. They have no alternative.

(Q.) Mr. BROWDER, getting back to America, one of the other areas that is confusing so many people is this. During the period when there were even more investigations in Congress, many people did not understand why if a person sincerely believed

BS 100-2908

JAO:maj

in Communist doctrine, he would not expect the statement or say I was a Communist or I am a Communist but would rely on his constitutional right to use the amendment. Why is this so and do you believe people should be required to name their political affiliation?

(A.) I think that it has been generally with some exceptions in the state on the part of people to make such wholesale resort to the Fifth Amendment and avoid stating their position and answering questions. I think there are occasions in which it's quite legitimate, quite, it's always legitimate, but I mean it's quite

(Q.) Reasonable?

(A.) Reasonable. However, I think that it would have been much better for the healthy development of the country if there had been much more frankness in the discussing of these questions on the one side and on the other side less persecution of the people on account of opinions.

A period which is passing in America but still has some remnants of it left but this persecution for opinions is peculiarly un-American and I consider it the real subversive trend in America today. It's too much copying the Russians.

(Q.) Mr. BROWDER, I would like to ask you very briefly what you think the United States of America should do in competing with the Communist influence as far as these undeveloped nations are concerned. After all, we are giving foreign aid, aren't we, in many areas of the world?

(A.) Yes, but I'm afraid that even when we give the aid, we do it in such a way as to create resentments against America. We have to learn a new technique of handling such questions. First of all, we'll have to learn how to understand these countries much more. America doesn't make a serious effort to understand the undeveloped countries. And we've got to get closer to them and seeing the questions from their side, from their point of view, and then we've got to get a technique whereby we place the responsibility for the way in which America's aid is used on these people themselves so that they cannot think America is imposing America's detailed leadership.

BS 100-2608
JA0:maj

(Q.) How would you go about doing it?

(A.) Through the United Nations.

(Q.) Give the money to the United Nations and have the United Nations give it to the various missions?

(A.) Yes, and then in a brief and perhaps vulgarized way that's the thing to do. Let the peoples in the United Nations themselves work out the difficulties of this thing, not have America take the honors of being responsible for every disappointment.

(Q.) Mr. BROWDER, if you were asked to define your political philosophy today, what would you say in a short, brief sentence it is?

(A.) I would say it is a twentieth century modification of the liberalism of Marx.

And that, probably, Mr. BROWDER, is one of the most revisionist statements that I have heard. But you have been a delightful guest, you've been a helpful guest, and for this not only do I, but all the people who have had a chance to meet you this morning, thank you very, very sincerely.

Thank you for the opportunity to be here.

And I hope you will want to look at Mr. BROWDER's book, it is thoughtful and you'll learn a lot from it and perhaps hopefully gain some of this understanding about the philosophy of the Communist Party and especially in America and especially Mr. BROWDER's own thoughts on the subject of Karl Marx.

F B I

Date: 11/12/58

Transmit the following in

PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.

SM-C

On 11/12/58 a pretext telephone call was made to EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, by SA ANTHONY D. LEONE under the guise of a newspaper reporter making inquiries concerning BROWDER'S proposed trip abroad. u

During this call an individual who identified himself as BROWDER advised that he was leaving for London on Sunday, 11/16/58, for a proposed two months stay. He advised that he was leaving by BOAC on Flight 550, leaving Idlewild Airport at 11:00 p.m. He stated his first stop would be in London where he said he will be lecturing and "renewing old acquaintances." He stated he was going to stay at the Strand Palace Hotel. He further advised that after his stay in London he will go to Paris where he will stay at Regents Hotel. He stated most of his time would be spent in London. BROWDER further stated that at this time he does not know what other countries he will visit, but will know more about that after he gets to Europe. u

REC-51.

FOSTER

3 - Bureau (40-3798) (RM)
1 - New York (100-25693)

EX-132

40-3798-809

TJC:jlm

(5)

Approved:

11-14-58

Sent

Special Agent in Charge

b6
b7c

SUBJ: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
M: RESEIN IS UNCLAR
DATE: 4/8/99

REC-57

40-3795 - 869

Date November 14, 1958

To: [Redacted]

I - Mr. Horner

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/01 BY [Redacted]

b3

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C

On November 12, 1958, a pretext telephone call was made to the residence of Browder, former general secretary of the Communist Party, concerning his proposed trip to Europe. An individual who identified himself as Browder stated he was leaving for London on Sunday, November 16, 1958, for a two-month stay. He said he is departing on Flight 550, British Overseas Airways Corporation, leaving Idlewild Airport at 11:00 p.m. He said his first stop will be in London, where he will be lecturing and renewing old acquaintances. He stated he will stay at the Strand Palace Hotel and after his stay in London will go to Paris, where he will stay at the Regente Hotel. He commented that most of his time will be spent in London. He said he does not know at this time what other countries he will visit, but will know more about that after he gets to Europe.

No investigation of the subject is being requested. However, it will be appreciated if you will advise this Bureau of any of subject's activities which come to your attention while he is abroad.

I - [Redacted]

b3

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

I - London

I - Paris

I - Bonn

7 NOV 1958

I - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

See yellow page 2.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Nease _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

RMH:baw (11)

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

[Redacted]

b3

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Subject on Security Index. Is former general secretary of CP, USA, and was expelled in 1946. Was issued passport 10-3-58 valid for period 11-1-58 to 2-1-59. [Redacted] and Legats previously furnished full background re subject and information re travel intentions.

b3

F B I

Date: 11/17/58

Transmit the following in

PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

I TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM-C

ReNYairtel dated 11/12/58.

On 11/16/58 the Security Officer, BOAC, advised that the name of EARL BROWDER was listed as a passenger on Flight 550 which departed Idlewild Airport at 11:00 p.m. on 11/16/58.

FOSTER

3 - Bureau (40-3798) (RM)
1 - New York (100-25693)TJC:jlm (#414)
(5)

REC-98

11-271-810
NOV 13 1958

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/8/99 BY [redacted]

Approved: F. ... Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

b6
b7C

Office Memorandum • UNIT

GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. NEASE

DATE: NOV 26 1958

FROM : L. E. SHORT

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Nease _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Clayton _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Bulky Exhibit File Number: 40-3798-62

We are presently in the process of reviewing all bulky exhibits presently on hand, in order that we may weed out those which will serve no useful purpose by being retained. Inasmuch as a great many of these bulky exhibits pertain to inactive cases and are occupying badly needed space, it is requested that you have the appropriate substantive supervisor review the above-listed bulky exhibit and render a decision as to the retention or disposition of the material contained therein. A notation as to the decision rendered should be placed on this memorandum, and it should be returned to the Filing Unit of the Records Branch, Room 1113, Identification Building. This memorandum will be filed in the case file.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the above-listed bulky exhibit be reviewed and a decision rendered as to the retention or disposition of the material contained therein.

b6
b7C

JWM:gbh
Done 11/2/58

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/01 BY [redacted]

40-3798-62
NOT RECORDED
24 DEC 3 1958

These are photographs
originally received in
connection with the case
No. [redacted] selected to retain
No bulky exhibits
J.W.M.

52 DEC 3 1958

J. W. MARSHALL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office NEW YORK	Office of Origin NEW YORK	Date 11/19/58	Investigative Period 10/13/58-24,28-31/58.
TITLE OF CASE EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.		Report made by THOMAS J. CROKE, JR.	Typed By: hfr
		CHARACTER OF CASE SECURITY MATTER-C; PERJURY	

Synopsis:

EARL BROWDER, as of 10/13/58, resided at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY, and was unemployed, but did some writing from his home. The records of the Passport Division, US Department of State, reflect that on 10/3/58, passport 1243188 was issued to EARL RUSSELL BROWDER; this passport being valid from November 1, 1958, to February 1, 1959. EARL BROWDER was interviewed on the NBC-TV program "Today" on 8/27/58. During this interview, BROWDER stated that "American Communist leadership has proven itself incompetent and out of touch with reality, and quite stupid". On October 28, 1958, AUSA LAWRENCE MC GAULEY, SDNY, advised that permission had been granted by the United States Department of Justice to file a nolle

Dhata -

CC TO:	[REDACTED]
REQ. REC'D	12/16/63
JAN 10 1964	
ANS.	TMW
BY:	[REDACTED]

b3

1st copy to
AGENCY **ASAC**
REQ. REC'D **12/16/63**
DATE FORM **12/16/63**
HOW FORW. **12/16/63**
BY **12/16/63**

Approved <i>F. Fisher</i>	Special Agent In Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made: 4- Bureau (40-3798) (RM) 1- INS, NYC (RM) 1- USA, SDNY (Att: AUSA LAWRENCE MC GAULEY) (RM) 3- New York (100-25693)	Copy to: by <i>R. Fisher</i>	11- - 811	REG. 63
AGENCY [REDACTED] REQ. REC'D 12-2-58 DATE FORM 12-2-58 HOW FORW. R/B BY R. Fisher	info <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> action <input type="checkbox"/> date <i>12/16/63</i> by <i>R. Fisher</i>		

b6
b7C

NY 100-25693

Synopsis Continued

prosequi in the perjury case against
EARL BROWDER.

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

Residence

On December 3, 1957, T-1 advised that, as of that date, EARL BROWDER resided at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York.

On October 13, 1958, T-1 advised that EARL BROWDER, as of that date, resided at the apartment house located at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York.

Employment

On December 3, 1957, T-1 advised that as of that date, EARL BROWDER was unemployed, but did some writing from his home.

On October 13, 1958, T-1 advised that EARL BROWDER, as of that date, was unemployed, but did some writing from his home.

Status of Health

On August 14, 1958, T-1 advised that EARL BROWDER appears to have aged and to have "slowed down"; that he now favors his right arm and keeps it almost rigid at his side.

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T-1 stated that when BROWDER tries to use his right hand, it trembles quite noticeably. T-1 stated that he suspects BROWDER may have had a slight stroke recently.

II. PROPOSED TRAVEL ABROAD

On August 6, 1958, the Passport Office of the United States Department of State, advised that the subject initiated inquiry with the State Department concerning the possibility of his travelling to Europe.

The subject's passport file was reviewed on September 3, 1958, by SA WINFRED H. ANDERS.

The file contained an application for passport submitted by the subject in the name of EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, which was dated February 11, 1958, at New York City. This application reflected that EARL BROWDER had not been outside the United States since 1946.

The application reflected that BROWDER desired a passport to permit his departure from New York City on or about April 1, 1958, via "ship" for an intended stay abroad in France, England, and possibly brief trips to Switzerland, Italy, and Yugoslavia, for the purpose of visiting his son, [redacted] who was spending a year in Europe on a National Science Foundation Fellowship.

b6
b7C

By letter, dated June 11, 1958, to the Passport Office, BROWDER referred to his application of February, 1958, mentioning he was compelled to cancel his plans for a trip to Europe in April and May of 1958, but that there was a possibility for him to renew his planned trip in August.

By letter, dated July 30, 1958, the Passport Office informed BROWDER that he was requested to submit evidence of his release from the bail restrictions imposed in September, 1952, as a result of the indictment rendered against him for violation of Section 1015 (A) of Title 18, United States Code, in the United States District Court of the Southern District of New York.

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On September 15, 1958, SA HILMER H. KREBS obtained from the Passport Office, a copy of an order of the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, signed by DAVID N. EDELSTEIN, United States Judge, dated September 8, 1958, in the case "United States of America against EARL BROWDER, Defendant, C139-257.

This court order permitted BROWDER to travel to Europe and to leave New York City on or about November 1, 1958, and to return on or about February 1, 1959. This order stipulated that BROWDER "shall appear before this court within one week of the receipt by his attorney, who has signed a Notice of Appearance herein, of a written communication to that effect from the United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York". BROWDER consented to be bound by the provisions of this court order as did JEROME J. LONDIN, an Assistant United States Attorney (AUSA).

On October 3, 1958, Mr. CARROLL H. SEELY, JR., Passport Office, Department of State, furnished the file on EARL RUSSELL BROWDER to SA HILMER H. KREBS.

The file reflects that on October 3, 1958, passport number 1243188 was issued to EARL RUSSELL BROWDER. The passport was valid for the period of November 1, 1958, to February 1, 1959. It is not to be amended, extended, or revalidated, without the expressed authorization of the Department of State.

The "New York Post" issue of October 26, 1958, page 22, under the heading "Browder's London Visit Ok'd", reflected that "former United States Communist Party (CP) leader, EARL BROWDER, has received a passport and will leave for London on November 16, to discuss publication there of his new book, 'Marx and America' according to his publishers".

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III. ACTIVITIES OF AND OPINIONS
EXPRESSED BY EARL BROWDER

On January 20, 1958, T-2 advised that on January 19, 1958, there was a social gathering of members of the CP in Chicago, Illinois. At this gathering, ROBERT THOMPSON made the statement that he knows that EARL BROWDER visits JOE STAROBIN.

THOMPSON further stated that NAT ROSS is in contact with STAROBIN and EARL BROWDER.

THOMPSON said that ROSS, BROWDER, JOHN GATES, and STAROBIN may try to form an organization consisting of socialist-minded people.

The CP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On May 14, 1958, T-3 advised that ROBERT THOMPSON is the National Organization Secretary of the CP, USA.

The Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives Report entitled, "Investigation of Communist Propaganda in the United States - Part Five (New York City area)", pages 305 to 319, contains the testimony of JOSEPH STAROBIN before the Sub-Committee of the Committee on Un-American Activities on March 13, 1957, in New York City.

STAROBIN testified he was a reporter for the "Daily Worker" from 1942, onward, became one of the editors of the "Daily Worker", and was a foreign editor until the beginning of 1954, and that he was a member of the CP from 1934, until late in 1953.

The "Daily Worker" was an east coast Communist daily newspaper which suspended publication with its issue of January 13, 1958.

T-4 advised on December 27, 1956, that NAT ROSS was leaving the CP. The informant stated that ROSS was a supporter of the JOHN GATES faction of the CP.

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T-5 advised on March 19, 1957, that NAT ROSS had quit the CP. The informant stated that ROSS was bitter toward the CP due to the fact that the Party had thrown him out of a job after years of work and leadership.

"The New York Times", dated January 11, 1958, page one, carried an article stating that JOHN GATES, on the previous day, January 10, 1958, publicly announced his resignation from the editorship of the "Daily Worker" and the CP.

The article quoted part of GATES' letter of resignation from the CP in which GATES stated he had left the CP "because I feel that the CP has ceased to be an effective force for democracy, peace, and socialism in the United States".

On January 22, 1958, T-6 advised that EARL BROWDER invited JOHN GATES to dinner for the night of January 30, 1958. T-6 advised that JOE STAROBIN was also invited to this dinner.

On February 3, 1958, T-7 advised that on that date at a meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, EUGENE DENNIS stated that JOE STAROBIN and EARL BROWDER have been meeting regularly ever since last summer.

The "Daily Worker", issue of February 14, 1957, page one, column one, reflects that the delegates to the 16th National CP Convention approved a proposal submitted to the newly elected 20-member National Committee that the eleven members living in New York City should serve as a Temporary National Administrative Committee. EUGENE DENNIS was elected to the new National Committee, CP, USA, and is a member of the Temporary National Administrative Committee.

The "Daily Worker", issue of June 4, 1957, page two, column one, contained an article entitled "Seven CP National Secretaries Named". The article stated that EUGENE DENNIS was elected as Secretary of National Affairs.

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On March 3, 1958, T-8 advised that at a meeting of the State Executive Board of the CP at Minnesota, held on February 27, 1958, an individual present stated that he had heard a rumor in New York to the effect that a new paper was to be formed with NAT FOSS and EARL BROWDER heading up the newspaper. ~~(S)~~ (U)

On March 5, 1958, T-3 advised that ROBERT THOMPSON, on March 4, 1958, in a conference, stated that a problem confronting the CP is that "EARL BROWDER, JOE STAROBIN, and the JOHN GATES group, are attempting to organize a new paper". They have appealed to people who have left the Party in recent years, particularly to those who had been donors or trade union leaders. ~~(S)~~ (U)

The "New York Post", dated May 19, 1958, in a column entitled "The Lyons Den" by LEONARD LYONS, reflected that LYONS stated that in his new book, "Marx and America", EARL BROWDER "will offer a new angle on capitalism and Marxism". LYONS stated that "BROWDER, the one-time CP candidate for President, will maintain that American capitalism with its high wages, refutes, MARX' doctrine that capitalism inevitably means the steady impoverishment of workers. BROWDER also will show how MARX' own theory divorced from dogma, gives the clearest explanation of the rise of American economy to world domination". *Le*

"The New York Times", issue of June 4, 1958, page three, under the heading "Books - Authors" reflects that "when EARL BROWDER was expelled as a 'revisionist' from the CP in 1945, he began a restudy of the theories of KARL MARX. The result of this research is 'Marx and America' which DUELL, SLOANE, and PEARCE plans for August publication. The author discusses the contradictions within Marxist theory, particularly as applied to America".

The "New York Post", issue of August 14, 1958, contains a column entitled "MIKE WALLACE Asks". This

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column is in the form of questions and answers. On said date, the person being interviewed was EARL BROWDER. Fertincent parts of this interview are set out as follows:

"Q. What's wrong with Soviet Russia?"

"A. They've not begun the process of involving the common people in their own destiny. Everything is forced on the people. They have freedom in things that don't affect the destiny of the state, but in things that do, they are restricted".

"Q. Should people have the opportunity to guide themselves?"

"A. Yes, this is very important. This thought is included in Marxist theory. Do you know that MARX is considered a subversive influence in Soviet Russia today?"

"Q. Why?"

"A. Students who read MARX get the fundamental questioning of the Communist State from him, because MARX teaches something different from what is practiced there. That is why the Soviet Union established strict thought control. Marxist thought differs from what is there now, therefore, he is subversive.

"Q. What can America learn from KARL MARX?"

"A. We can learn that our lagging in our productive economy is unnecessary. It comes from a lag in the adjustment of our system to the new possibility of growth. Unfortunately, we think in terms of old rather than of new."

"Q. This sounds a little like the ROCKEFELLER Report"

"A. Yes, there is something of that in here. We consistently see the rediscovery of old things. You find more than an echo of MARX in the ROCKEFELLER Report.

"Q. If you had to make a bet, which power would you say will survive in the year 2,000 closest to its present form, the United States, or Russia?"

"A. Probably Russia. I see America surviving, but in transformation."

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"Q. Do you see the United States as a Socialist State?"
"A. Yes, sharing the benefits of productivity with the masses in a growing economy."

"Q. What comment have you to make on the American CP?"
"A. What can one say about a ghost? It exists only as a shadow of the past. It is nothing but a specter."

EARL BROWDER was interviewed on the NBC-TV program, "Today", on Wednesday, August 27, 1958, by CHARLES VAN DOREN and FRANK BLAIR. During this interview, BROWDER stated that "American Communist leadership has proven itself incompetent, and out of touch with reality, and quite stupid". BROWDER stated that "MARX himself made some basic mistakes in estimating the role of America in the development of world capitalism". BROWDER stated that "it is to these deeper historical origins of the failure of Communism that I direct most of my attention in my new book".

VAN DOREN asked BROWDER, "while you were the head of the Party, did you ever receive orders from Russia?"

BROWDER replied "No. The Russians strangely enough in view of their record in the last 10-15 years, treated me with a great deal of respect so long as they let me remain at the head of the Party, and I had a pretty free hand with very little interference. I, of course, always had to take into consideration, the Communist prejudices and so on and ever since I began to question some of the dogmas of Marxism as long as I was the head of the Party, I was not in a position to challenge them head-on. In fact, I was not in a position to really think through the problems until I got separated from all that."

NY 100-25693

IV. STATUS OF PERJURY CASE ON EARL BROWDER

"The New York Times", issue of April 8, 1958, page 19, under the heading "BROWDER's Bail Is Cut", reflected that Federal Judge JOHN M. CASHIN, on April 7, 1958, reduced from \$2,500.00 to \$1,000.00, the bail "posted by EARL BROWDER on a five-year old perjury charge".

According to the article, BROWDER and his wife were charged with lying at a 1949 Immigration Hearing when they denied that Mrs. BROWDER, who was born in Russia, had been a member of the CP.

On October 28, 1958, AUSA LAWRENCE MC GAULEY, Southern District of New York, advised SA THOMAS J. CROKE, JR., that permission had been granted by the United States Department of Justice, to file a nolle prosequi in the perjury case against EARL BROWDER.

V. MISCELLANEOUS

The New York "Herald Tribune", on February 26, 1958, reported from Moscow, under dateline of February 25, 1958, that a leading Soviet publication devoted to Communist theory, "Voprosy Istorii" (Historical Questions), had denounced the suggestion that democratic centralism be eliminated and Moscow guidance of world Communism be ended. The article in the "Herald Tribune" states "EARL BROWDER, JOHN GATES, and HOWARD FAST, former members of the American Communist Party, were reproved as prominent 'soft' offenders. WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Chairman Emeritus of the Party, on the other hand, was praised for insisting that the United States is not exempt from the dictates of 'Marxism - Leninism'...".

The "Daily Worker" of May 6, 1957, page three, columns one to five, reflected that at a meeting of the National Committee of the CP in New York City, held on April 27, 28, 1957, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER was elected Chairman Emeritus.

NY 100-25693

HOWARD FAST was interviewed on September 4, 1957,
by SAs EDWARD W. BUCKLEY and HERBERT P. LARSON.

During this interview, FAST advised that he joined the Tom Paine Club of the CP in 1934, but left the Club after attending only one meeting.

He stated that in 1943, he again joined the CP and remained a member until 1956.

On September 18, 1958, T-9 advised that he had heard that BROWDER applied for membership in the Socialist Party.

-P-



~~SECRET~~

b6
b7C

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

7 *10* *11/29*
SAC SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
SM-C; PERJURY

DATE: 11/19/58

10 *11/29*
THIS SIDE FOR
DISSEMINATION.

10
Enclosed herewith are the original and three copies of the report of SA THOMAS J. CROKE, JR., at New York, dated and captioned as above. Also enclosed are four copies of a letterhead memorandum relating to the reliability of informants whose identities are concealed by the use of T symbols.

REFERENCE

Report of SA THOMAS J. CROKE, JR., New York, dated December 20, 1957.

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.~~

ADMINISTRATIVE

10
It is to be noted that on October 10, 1958, [redacted] who are familiar with some phases of the Socialist Party - Social Democratic Federation (SP-SDF) in New York City, advised that they had heardd nothing concerning an application by EARL BROWDER to join the SP-SDF.

b7D

On October 2, 1958, [redacted] (T-1 in enclosed report), advised that in all probability he would be in a position to ascertain some of BROWDER's travel plans. He pointed out that BROWDER presently has stored in the basement, luggage and storage room, at 7 Highland Place, a quantity of travel luggage including trunks and suitcases; that he, [redacted] has the only key to the storage room and that BROWDER would have to secure this luggage through him.

8-132

2- Bureau (40-3798) (Encls. 8) (RM)
3- New York (100-25693)

812

TJC:hfr
(5)

REC'D 10/22/58

CLASSIFIED BY

DECLASSIFY ON: 25Y

5/19/99

b6
b7C

47 DEC 2-1958

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-25693

INFORMANTS

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>	<u>File Number Where Located</u>
---------------------------	---	----------------------	--------------------------------	----------------------------------

T-1

[Redacted]

b7D

Residence	12/3/57	100-25693-1490
Residence	10/13/58	SA DANIEL H. Instant Report LUCKING
Employment	12/3/57	100-25693-1490
Employment	10/13/58	SA DANIEL H. Instant Report
Health		100-25693-1490

T-2

[Redacted]

EARL BROWDER
visits JOE
STAROBIN

100-25693-14 b7D

T-3

[Redacted]

Used to document
ROBERT THOMPSON;
EARL BROWDER, JOE
STAROBIN, JOHN
GATES Group
attempting to
organize new
paper

b7D

T-4

[Redacted]

(S) Used to document
NAT ROSS.

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-25693

INFORMANTS, CON'D

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>	<u>File Number Where Located</u>
T-5 [redacted]	Used to document NAT ROSS.			b7D
T-6 [redacted]	EARL BROWDER invited JOHN GATES to dinner.			b3 b7D
T-7 [redacted]	JOE STAROBIN and EARL BROWDER have been meeting.			
T-8 [redacted]				[redacted]
T-9 [redacted]	BROWDER applied for membership in the Socialist Party			

LEADS

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will continue to follow this case with the United States Attorney of the Southern District of New York.

Will ascertain subject's travel plans.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-25693

Subject's name is included in the Security Index.

The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.

Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.

A suitable photograph is is not available.

Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and T symbols were utilized only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.

Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____

This report is classified CONFIDENTIAL because (state reason) the information reported from T-2 through T-9 could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) over the years he has consistently refused to cooperate with the FBI during previous interviews.

This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.

This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) although the subject's current activities as such do not warrant his retention on the SI, due to the fact that the subject has had knowledge of and assisted in espionage activities of the CP in the past, and due to his long history of association with the CP in a leadership capacity, it is recommended that he be retained on the SI. (See report of SA JAMES E. HANLON, NY, dated 12/31/56).

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

NY 100-25693

New York, New York
November 19, 1958

Earl Russell Browder, with
aliases
Security Matter - C; Perjury

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent Thomas J. Croke, Jr., at New York, dated and captioned as above.

T-1 is in a position to furnish reliable information.

T-2, through T-9, inclusive, have furnished reliable information in the past.

This is loaned to you by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside the agency to which loaned.

-5-

AGENCY _____
REQ. REG'D. - 12-2-58
DATE ICN'D. - R/G
HOW FORG. -
BY - R.M.H./ms

~~SECRET~~ 11-812

b3

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

7
WPA

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798) DATE: 11/21/58

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SH - C

Re report of SA THOMAS J. CROKE, Jr., NY, dated
11/19/58.

[Redacted] On 11/21/58 Mr. LAWRENCE McGAWLEY, AUSA, SDNY advised SA THOMAS J. CROKE, Jr. that he had been notified by the Department of Justice by letter dated 11/10/58 that the indictment outstanding against BROWDER should not be dismissed at this time.

It is also pointed out that the Boston Office has covered the lead set out in rerep.

As the only lead outstanding in this matter is to follow the perjury case against the subject with the USA, SDNY this case is being placed in a pending inactive status in the NYO.

2 - Bureau (40-3798) (RM) REC-66
1 - New York (100-25693) (414) [Redacted]

TJC:RML
(3)

25 NOV 26 1958

8/3

Super CONTR

b6
b7C

BRITAIN'S BITTER VISITOR

HE looked like a retired Kentucky colonel. Our eyes met through the prickly haze of an all-American cigar. To the West End cocktail drinkers around us he looked a typical, though tired, American tourist.

But I knew him as the might-have-been Communist dictator of America.

For the tired man facing me was Earl Browder, formerly America's No. 1 Communist who on two occasions—1936 and 1940—ran for U.S. President on a Communist ticket.

They called him the "Yankee Stalin."

Browder had just flown in from New York on a brand new passport withheld from him for 13 years. He is here to launch his book, "Marx and America."

He said: "My old friend Harry Pollitt would have a fit if he saw me now—if anyone spotted him talking to me, he would lose the few remaining followers he has."

For, like Bulganin, Molotov, and Malenkov, Browder has toppled and fallen under the "deviationist" stigma.

'Best turn'

WHAT Mr. B. is going through now in Russia, Browder knows only too well. But Browder has avoided confessing and is unrepentant:



DAILY EXPRESS
LONDON, ENGLAND
NOV. 19, 1958

RE: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
SM - C
Bufile 40-3798

113
OFFICE OF THE LEGAL ATTACHE
AMERICAN EMBASSY
LONDON, ENGLAND.

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/8/99 BY

b6

b7C

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (40-3798)

DATE: November 19, 1958

FROM : Legat, London (100-239)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
SM - C[redacted]
7-31-00
(PER LTC 7/27/00)b6
b7C

Re Bureau routing slip 10/24/58, with enclosures, indicating that subject BROWDER intends to visit his son who is reportedly studying here under a National Science Foundation fellowship.

This is to advise that [redacted]

b7D

London, England, informed on November 18, 1958, that subject BROWDER arrived at London Airport from New York on November 17, 1958, and was landed for four weeks. He gave his address as the Strand Palace Hotel, The Strand, London, England.

There is attached an article which appeared in the London "Daily Express" for November 19, 1958, regarding subject's visit to this country.

RUC.

5 - Bureau (Encl. 1)
1 - London
JAC:mas
(6)

CLASSIFIED BY
LEGACY SYSTEM 11/1/01
4/8/99b6
b7C

ADDENDUM: Since typing the above, a report has been received on November 19, 1958, under a [redacted]

b7D

The Bureau will be advised if subject comes to security notice.

ENCLOSURE

REC-4 NOV 28 1958

SUBJ. CONTROL

SAC
3/7

RECORDED - FILED

Office M

n • UNITED STA

RNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: November 25, 1958 b6

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-17698)

b7C

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER
IS - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/10/01 BY [signature]

100-344948-20
Re Detroit letter to Bureau, with copies to Boston and Los Angeles, dated 9/12/58, reflecting that [REDACTED] son of EARL BROWDER was married on 6/1/58, at Brookline, Massachusetts, to [REDACTED] who was born in Pomona, California.

b6

b7C

On 9/24/58, SE EARL F. DUDLEY checked the records of the Bureau of Vital Statistics of Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, California, which reflected in [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] at Pomona Valley Community Hospital, Pomona, California. Her father was OTIS HAMILTON LEE, [REDACTED]

b6

b7C

B. APPROX.

[REDACTED] Her mother's maiden name was DOROTHY DEMETRACOPOULOU. [REDACTED] The birth was certified by ELWYN H. WELCH, M.D., Physician, [REDACTED] Pomona, California, and the certificate was filed [REDACTED]

b6

b7C

B. APPROX.

On 9/30/58, no record of [REDACTED] OTIS HAMILTON LEE, or DOROTHY DEMETRACOPOULOU (LEE) was located with the Credit Bureau, 660 South Garey Avenue, Pomona, California, which also covers Claremont, California, according to Mrs. ORPHA LANG, Supervisor. On 9/30/58, no record of these persons was located in the files of the Identification Bureau of the Pomona Police Department, according to Mrs. BONNIE MILLER, Clerk, nor on 11/17/58, with the Claremont Police Department, according to Sergeant JACK MARTIN.

b6

b7C

As of 10/23/58, no identifiable information was located in the files of the Los Angeles Office regarding OTIS HAMILTON LEE, DOROTHY LEE nee DEMETRACOPOULOU, or [REDACTED] nee LEE, with variations.

b6

b7C

The above is being submitted for information.

2 - Bureau (Registered)
2 - Boston (Registered)
2 - Detroit [REDACTED] (Registered)
1 - Los Angeles (100-17698)

GMG:HMS

(7)

58 DEC 5 1958

REC-10

24 DEC 1 1958

SUBJ. CONTROL

b3

Office Me

m • UNITE

NMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

DATE: 12/15/58

WFD FROM : LEGAT, BONN (100-622)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
SECURITY MATTER - C

Reference is made to New York Office memorandum dated 10/9/58 concerning captioned subject, a copy of which memorandum was referred to the Bonn Office.

Enclosed for the information of the Bureau is one copy of a letter dated November 1958 from the [redacted] and its enclosure, a clipping from the London Daily Express of 11/19/58, concerning BROWDER. It is to be noted that at that time BROWDER was in London in connection with the sales program for his book "Marx and America."

P.

4 - Bureau (Enc-2)
1 - Bonn
(5) WFD:tlc

b7D

40-111-816
#1
[redacted]
3-7-02
[redacted]
(FOREIGN GOVT. LTR DTD 2-28-02)
ADVISED OF DECLASSIFICATION.

EX-100

REC-19

40-111-816

21 DEC 19 1958

L-110 07-1958

601000000000

53 JAN 3 1958
SUBJ CONTROL

b6
b7C

The "Daily Express" of 19 Nov 58.
Page 6, column 6.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/01 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

Evening Wolfson



A NEW MAN
ARD MANCROFT SHOPPING YESTERDAY

Y by Beachcomber

BRITAIN'S BITTER VISITOR

HE looked like a retired Kentucky colonel. Our eyes met through the prickly haze of an all-American cigar. To the West End cocktail drinkers around us he looked a typical, though tired, American tourist.

But I knew him as the might-have-been Communist dictator of America.

For the tired man facing me was Earl Browder, formerly America's No. 1 Communist who on two occasions—1936 and 1940—ran for U.S. President on a Communist ticket.

They called him the "Yankee Stalin."

Browder had just flown in from New York on a brand new passport withheld from him for 13 years. He is here to launch his book, "Marx and America."

He said: "My old friend Harry Pollitt would have a fit if he saw me now—if anyone spotted him talking to me, he would lose the few remaining followers he has."

For like Bulganin, Molotov, and Malenkov, Browder has toppled and fallen under the "deviationist" stigma.

'Best turn'

WHAT Mr. B. is going through now in Russia Browder knows only too well. But Browder has avoided confessing—and is unrepentant.

It was the best turn anyone has done me when THEY—and he looked over his shoulder—kicked me out."

"What do you think of Krushchev?" I asked.

"Him," he snorted. "He is just a Johnny-come-lately. I knew the founders of the party, the tough 'old guard.' And I queried—Stalin?"

"A very great man. A very criminal man, too. He overshadowed everyone—even my old friend Molotov, whom I last met in Moscow in 1946."

He chuckled. "Look where he is now."

Mistakes

BROWDER was purged in 1946 for "betraying the principles of Marxism and Leninism and deserting to the side of the old enemy—America," according to a party



EARL BROWDER
HE FOLLOWED MOLOTOV

Last night he laughed merrily at this "Capital." He exclaimed: "I am a very poor man indeed."

I asked him about his book. "It is an attempt to examine some key mistakes which Karl Marx made when we examine his work in the light of American experience."

He added quickly: "But Marx is still my great teacher. It was only with the help of his teaching that I was able to understand his mistakes."

I shook hands with this has-been, this might-have-been, this lonely old man in the wilderness of disillusionment.

He smiled and said: "I must sleep. I am so tired."

Stephen
Constant

ENCLOSURE 111-7760

116

Best Copy Available

b6
b7C

REF ID: A67111
3-7-02
(PER FOREIGN GOVT. LTR)
(DTG 2-28-02)

32/PP36609

MAIL tray 327H

Box 59

To: The Office of the Legal Advisor,
The American Embassy, Box 59A,
APO 963, U.S. Forces

b7D

RECORDED: 100-200-0000
RECORDED: 100-200-0000

ALL ENCLAVE
100-200-0000

Please refer to our letter of even reference dated 12 Feb 98.

Copy 50, and further to our letter of 20 Feb 98.

We enclose for you in this letter the cable message of 10 Jan 98 from the US Consul in Manila, which you will note indicates that he has already issued the

long-term tourist visa, confirming the above message. As we present in Manila, we are awaiting your departure.

Distribution:
1/CTB/AB - 2
File
Print
Letter Copy

b7D

ENCLOSURE

40 - 146



FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
The American Embassy
Rome, Italy

Date: December 23, 1958
To: Director, FBI (40-3798)
From: Legat, Rome (100-215)
Subject: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM - C

Re New York memorandum dated October 9, 1958, and Bulet dated November 14, 1958, to the Office of Security, Department of State, indicating that BROWDER was expected to travel to a number of European countries, including Italy.

Sources of the Rome office were furnished background information concerning this matter on October 30, 1958, and were requested to advise of any information which might come to their attention concerning the subject. Stops will be maintained against the subject's name and any information received concerning him or his activities will be promptly submitted.

AAC:oc
(4)

REC-6 40-3798-817

21 DEC 30 1958

1-5-58
1-5-58 to NY by
R/S for info R/S
RM H/ld
PL83

JAN 5 1959

SUBJ. CONTROL
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/8/09 BY #

b6
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RECEIVED
FEB 1 1959
FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
American Embassy
Paris 6, France

b6
b7C

Date: December 30, 1958
To: Director, FBI (40-3798)
From: Legat, Paris (100-788)
Subject: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was
SECURITY MATTER - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
WHEN SHOWN OTHERWISE

Re New York letterhead memorandum 10/9/58 and
reBulet to [REDACTED] 11/14/58.

b3
b3

Pertinent information was furnished to the [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] and to the [REDACTED]
[REDACTED], French domestic counterespionage service,
on 11/19/58, and additional information was furnished to the
DST on 11/21/58 indicating that the subject may stop at the
Regents Hotel, Paris. (S) (U)

This case was discussed on 12/23/58 with [REDACTED]
[REDACTED], and he advised that the subject has not
come to their notice as yet. He advised that any information
which comes to their attention in the future will be furnished
to this office. (S) (U)

b3

We will continue to follow this with the DST and
the Swiss. (S) (U)

One copy of this letter is provided for transmittal
to New York (100-25693).

b6
b7C

F.

CLASSIFIED BY
DECLASSIFY ON 25Y TO
4/8/99

[REDACTED]

8/8

3 - Bureau
1 - Paris
NWP:CM
(4)

REC'D

8 JAN 5 1959

Longman

STEN. CONTROL

SECRET

Office M

n • UNITED

GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (40-3798)

Date: January 5, 1959

FROM : ~~and~~ Legat, London (100-239) ~~SECRET~~SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
SM - C

Remylet 11/19/58.

b6
b7C

[redacted] advised on December 31 under a confidential classification that subject left Dover, England, for Calais, France, on December 10. While in the United Kingdom BROWDER did not come to security notice. (S)(C)

b7D

RUC.

[redacted]
[redacted] IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE OTHERWISE INDICATED.b6
b7C5 - Bureau
1 - Paris, sent direct
1 - London

CWB:ic

(S)(C) JAN 1

100-52361-2
PARIS
BONCAU UNITCLASSIFIED
4/8/97
DECLASSIFY

REC-12

SECRET

Office Me

. UNITED

VERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (40-3798)

DATE: January 13, 1959

FROM : Legat, London (100-239)

~~SECRET~~SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
SM - C

Remylet 1/5/59.

7-51-00
(P&L LTR 7-27-00.)b6
b7Cadvised on January 12, 1959, that subject arrived at London Airport on January 10, 1959, from Dunkirk and indicated he planned to depart the United Kingdom from London Airport, presumably for the United States, via British Overseas Airways on January 17, 1959. ~~(S)(u)~~

b7D

RUC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.5 - Bureau
1 - London
ACM:mas
(6)

REC'D BY

820

b6
b7C60 JAN 2 1959 CLASSIFIED
BY [REDACTED] 4/8/99

SUS

~~SECRET~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

DATE: 1/23/59

X
WPD
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, aka.
SM - C

ReNYlet to Bureau 11/21/58.

Enclosed are five copies of a letterhead memorandum relating to BROWDER'S return to the United States.

On 1/23/59 Mr. LAWRENCE MC GAWLEY, AUSA, SDNY, advised SA THOMAS J. CROKE, JR., that the perjury case against the subject is open and the indictment is pending. He advised that he does not know when any action will be taken on the matter.

As the only lead outstanding in this matter is to follow the perjury case against the subject with the USA, SDNY, this case is being maintained in a pending inactive status in the New York Office.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/8/99 BY [redacted]b6
b7C(2) Bureau (40-3798) (Encl. 5) (RM)
1 - New York (100-25693)

REC-2

40-3798-821

TJC:jlm
(3)112
20 JAN 1959

66 FEB 4 1959

SUBJECT CONTROL

ENCLOSURE



United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
New York, New York
January 23, 1959

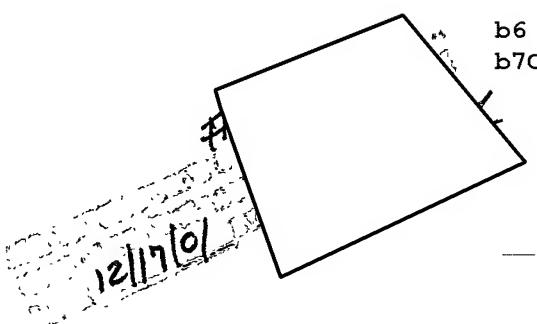
Bureau 40-3798
New York 100-25693

Re: Earl Russell Browder, also known as
Security Matter - C

On January 19, 1959, William McConnerty, Supervisor in Charge, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Idlewild Airport, New York, made available to Special Agent Harold R. Claus records which reflected that Earl R. Browder, Passport Number 1243188, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, returned to the United States via flight BA 559 on January 18, 1959. He boarded plane at London, England.

This is loaned to you by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside the agency to which loaned.

b6
b7C



3/3/59
120-25693
40-3798-821
41

40-3798-821
ENCLOSURE



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
American Embassy
Paris 8, France

Date: January 19, 1959
To: Director, FBI (40-3798)
From: Legat, Paris (100-788)
Subject: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was
SECURITY MATTER - C

b6
b7C

MR
Re Paris letter 12/30/58.

The American Embassy, Belgrade, Yugoslavia, reported on 1/7/59 that BROWDER was at that time in Belgrade. It was indicated that he would leave Belgrade on 1/8/59 and proceed to Paris, where he planned to spend one week. From Paris he planned to go to London for a week and then return to the United States.

The American Embassy, Belgrade, by dispatch dated 1/7/59 reported that BROWDER held a lengthy conversation with an Embassy officer on that date during which he indicated that he has had discussions with numerous government and party leaders in Yugoslavia during the past several weeks. This visit, which was described as his first to Yugoslavia, was at his own initiative, according to BROWDER. BROWDER indicated to the Embassy officer that the atmosphere became increasingly cordial as his visit with the Yugoslav officials progressed.

BROWDER indicated that he found the Yugoslavs flexible in their thinking and most receptive to his views, though they were still encumbered with "dogmatic concepts inherited from Moscow". He said that he hoped "by speaking their language" (Marxism) that he had contributed something to their understanding of what he called the U. S. evolution toward socialism. The Embassy officer noted that BROWDER appeared deeply impressed by the achievements of the Yugoslav Communists and the degree of freedom existing in that country. The Embassy reported that the Yugoslavs gave no publicity to BROWDER's visit.

P.

3 - Bureau
1 - London (100-239) (sent direct)
1 - Paris
WFD:CM
(5)

REC-2

-82

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

DATE: 1/29/59

FROM : LEGAT, BONN (100-622)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, aka
SECURITY MATTER - C

Remylet 12/15/58.

Upon receipt of the New York memorandum of 10/9/58, a brief summary of information on the subject was furnished to the following sources, with the request that they provide any information which might come to their attention regarding the subject while he was traveling abroad:

b7D

Security Office, American Embassy, Vienna, Austria.

With the exception of the British, whose information was reported in my letter of reference, none of these agencies has supplied any information to date. Since the original information did not specifically indicate BROWDER intended to visit either Germany or Austria and since his passport is reported to be valid only until 2/1/59, this case is being closed.

RUC.

2 - Bureau
1 - Bonn
(3) GAV:tlc

REC. 19

40-3718-823

7 FEB 1959

SEARCHED
INDEXED
FILED
FEB 19 1959
FBI - BONN

2-9-59
cc to NY by R/S
for info.
PRM-H/ML

60 FEB 9 1959

FBI - BONN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/8/99 BY

b6
b7C



FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
American Embassy
Paris 8, France

~~SECRET~~

Date: February 16, 1959
To: Director, FBI (40-3798)
From: Legat, Paris (100-788)
Subject: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was
SECURITY MATTER - C

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
WHERE SUBMITTED OTHERWISE.~~

Re New York letterhead memorandum 1/23/59.

A report was received from the [redacted] French domestic counter-espionage service, on 1/22/59 indicating that BROWDER arrived at Paris on 1/4/59 and stayed in a hotel located at 44 rue Madame. The [redacted] advised that they had received no pertinent information regarding BROWDER's activities while in Paris. (S)(U)

b3

An appropriate notice has been placed in the files of the [redacted] so that if information comes to their attention in the future, it will be furnished to this office. (S)(U)

One copy of this communication is provided for transmittal to New York (100-25693).

RUC.

3 - Bureau
1 - Paris
NWP:CM
(4)

REC-55

824

CLASSIFIED BY [redacted]
DECLASSIFIED DATE 1.6
4/8/99

b6
b7C

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

7
WPA
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, aka
SM-C

DATE: 3/30/59

Re NYlet to Bureau dated 1/23/59.

On 3/30/59 MR. LAWRENCE MC GAWLEY, AUSA, SDNY advised SA Thomas J. Croke, Jr. that there has been no change in the perjury case against the subject and that the case is open and the indictment is pending. He advised that he does not know when any action will be taken in the matter.

As the only lead outstanding in this matter is to follow the perjury case against the subject with the USA, SDNY, this case is being maintained in a pending in-active status in the NYO.

2-Bureau (40-3798) RM
1-New York (100-25693)

TJC:cq

REC-92

40-3798-825

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/99 BY [redacted]

12 MAR 31 1959

62 APR 6 1959
F111

SEARCHED INDEXED SERIALIZED FILED
SUBJ: 100-25693

b6
b7c

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (100-422089)

FROM : SAC, Kansas City (100-10656)

SUBJECT: *J. J.* CINAL

DATE: 4/10/59

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/21/10 BY [redacted]

The Kansas City Times, Kansas City, Mo, April 10, 1959 issue, carries an article concerning Mrs. GLADYS L. BROWDER, 67, who on 4/9/59 obtained a divorce in District Court, Wyandotte County, Ks., from EARL RUSSELL BROWDER.

According to the article, she was granted a decree on the ground of having been abandoned by BROWDER. Divorce was granted when Mrs. BROWDER told the court she needed it in order to take legal title to four acres of land in Wyandotte County, Ks., left to her by her mother.

Mrs. BROWDER was married to EARL BROWDER 1/22/11 in Wichita, Ks., and reported she last saw him in 1924. According to Mrs. BROWDER, they had one son, [redacted] a Detroit radio announcer, whom BROWDER helped support now and then until 1947 when he was living in Russia.

Mrs. BROWDER stated she had not sought a divorce previously because she was content to help her mother grow flowers in Wyandotte County and had no desire to remarry.

According to the article, Mrs. BROWDER said she had no idea as to BROWDER's whereabouts and did not care concerning his whereabouts.

Enclosed for information are two copies of the article for the Bureau and one copy is enclosed for New York Office.

4 - Bureau (2 cc: 100-422089; 2 cc: 40-3798) (encl. 2) REG. MAIL
1 - New York (info) (encl. 1) (100-14205) REG. MAIL
1 - KC 100-10656 (CINAL)
1 - KC 100-9841 (E. Browder)

LKW/hmg

APR 28 1959

REC-70

APR 13 1959

40-3798-826

EX 105

CENTRAL RESEARCH

b6
b7C

cc DESTROYED 1/25/66

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-10656

DIVORCES E. R. BROWDER

WIFE WANTS DECREE TO GAIN LAND TITLE.

She Tells Court She Hasn't Seen Communist-Minded Husband Since 1924.

The wife of the nation's former No. 1 Communist, Earl Russell Browder, yesterday was granted a divorce in the Wyandotte County District court.

Mrs. Gladys L. Browder, 67, was granted the decree on the ground of having been abandoned by Browder, who has held several high Communist party positions in the United States and lived in Russia for several years.

Waits Title to Land.

Judge O. Q. Claflin III granted Mrs. Browder the di-

vorce when she told him she must have it to take legal title to four acres of land in Wyandotte County, left to her by her mother, who died a year ago.

Mrs. Browder was married to Browder January 22, 1911, in Wichita, and said she last saw him in 1924. They had one son, Jay Browder, a Detroit radio announcer, whom Browder helped support now and then until 1947 when he was living in Russia.

Browder, 67, who ran several times for President on the Communist ticket, also had a Russian wife by whom he had three sons. Mrs. Browder said yesterday she had heard that Browder's Russian wife is dead and that the sons have teaching jobs in New York.

From a recent radio broad-

der said she learned her former husband was planning to write a new translation of writings by Karl Marx.

Not "Red" in Theory.

She said she had heard that Browder describes himself as not being a "Red," because Marxism is not practiced according to the true communistic theory in Russia.

Mrs. Browder said she had not sought a divorce previously because she was "content to help my mother grow

flowers in Wyandotte County" and had no desire to remarry.

She said the only reason she filed the divorce action February 6 was so she could legally take title to and sell the property left to her by her mother.

Mrs. Browder said she had no idea of Browder's whereabouts and "I don't care."

KANSAS CITY TIMES
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
April 10, 1959

RE: CINAL

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/01 BY [redacted]

40-3798-826

~~100-12-111~~

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Reddy

July 2, 1959 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6
b7C

REC- 23

EX

Honorable Richard M. Nixon
The Vice President
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dick:

With reference to your communication of July 2, 1959, requesting my advice regarding how you might answer the letter from Earl Browder in which Browder suggests commutation of the prison sentences of communist leaders Gilbert Green and Henry Winston, the following facts are being set out by way of background. (u)

These two communist leaders were convicted in October, 1949, on charges of conspiring to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the United States Government in violation of the Smith Act of 1940. Each received a five-year prison sentence and a \$10,000 fine. The jury trial lasted almost seven months and, even though convicted, Green and Winston remained at liberty on bond for almost two years until the Supreme Court on June 4, 1951, upheld their convictions. On July 2, 1951, Green, Winston and two of their co-defendants deliberately failed to surrender to begin serving their prison sentences. They remained hidden in the communist underground for almost five years. Upon surrendering in 1956, each received an additional three-year sentence for contempt of court. The contempt convictions were also reviewed and upheld by the Supreme Court on March 31, 1958. In December, 1957, a motion was filed before the Supreme Court requesting a rehearing as to the sufficiency of the evidence upon which Green and Winston were originally convicted in October, 1949. This motion

1 - (100-35863) (Green)
1 - (100-1473) (Winston)
1 - (40-3798) (Browder)

✓

6/2/59
J.W.

See "6/2/59 BAUMGARDNER TO BELMONT, SAME DATE, CAPTIONED
"GILBERT GREEN, INTERNAL SECURITY - C, SMITH ACT OF 1940;
HENRY WINSTON, INTERNAL SECURITY - C, SMITH ACT OF 1940," EBR:pat

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EBR:pat (9)

Honorable Richard M. Nixon

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

was denied by the Supreme Court on January 27, 1958. As recently as October, 1958, Green and Winston were afforded parole hearings upon completion of one-third of their sentences. Their applications were denied following thorough study and consideration by the Board of Parole. Thus, it is obvious that Green and Winston have been afforded every protection and avenue of appeal guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws of the land even to persons convicted of a crime as heinous as conspiracy to overthrow our form of Government. (u)

Knowing the background of Earl Browder, it is impossible to believe that his letter to you was motivated, as he puts it, "by the firm belief that wiping this particular slate clean at this particular moment will strengthen America's moral position in a world where great populations hunger for a rebirth of morality." Since Browder was removed from his position as general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, in 1945, he has been interviewed on numerous occasions by Agents of this Bureau and has appeared before various congressional committees. Although claiming he is no longer a communist, Browder has consistently refused to furnish information in his possession which would have been of great value to the intelligence operations of this country. A possible explanation for his letter may lie in the fact that Browder is known to be interested in establishing and heading a new socialist-type organization in this country. In an effort to further this aim, Browder has been meeting with such defected Communist Party leaders as Joseph Starobin and John Gates. It is not improbable, therefore, that Browder is seeking commutation of Green's and Winston's sentences solely for the purpose of attempting to wean them away from the Communist Party, USA, and into his own group. It follows that Browder might well utilize any reply from you to impress Green and Winston with the fact that he is actively engaged in their behalf. (u)

Green and Winston are not "political dissidents" as Browder describes them, but are long-time, hard-core Communist Party members and functionaries. Their complete dedication to the communist movement in this country is amply proven by the fact that on orders from the Communist Party leadership, they deliberately disobeyed a court

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Best Copy Available

Honorable Richard M. Nixon ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

order in July, 1951, and spent five years hiding in the communist underground, separating themselves from all contacts with their families. Had they desired to break with the Communist Party, they could have done so at any time, and could still do so, regardless of their status. *RU*

In view of the above facts, I would suggest that should you desire to reply to Browder's letter, you may wish to consider merely referring to the facts that Green and Winston were convicted following a lengthy jury trial; that appeals from both their substantive and contempt convictions were denied by the highest court in the land; that their applications for parole were reviewed and denied as recently as October, 1958; and that should applications for executive clemency be filed, they will be afforded the same treatment, through established channels, as an application filed by any other convicted criminal. In conclusion, you may wish to indicate your lack of sympathy to Browder's proposal by a statement that you are taking no action in furtherance of his suggestion. *U*

For your further information in connection with this matter, the Communist Party is presently conducting an intensive nationwide campaign in an effort to secure the necessary signatures on applications for executive clemency for both Green and Winston. *RU*

I trust the above material will be of assistance in connection with your request. *U*

Sincerely, *U*

EDGAR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

July 2, 1959

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/19/01 BY [Signature]

b6

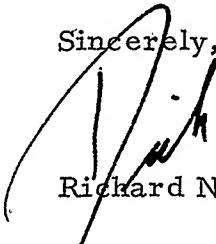
b7C

Dear Edgar:

Recently I received a letter from Earl Browder, copy of which I am attaching for your information. I would certainly appreciate receiving your advice as to how this letter might be answered.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,


Richard Nixon



The Honorable
J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D.C.

ENCLOSURE

AS
7-8-5

RECORDED
7-8-5
JULY 13 1959
FBI - WASH. D.C.

REC- 23

44-3748-827

20 JUL 13 1959

EX

100-1874-827
TAC/SHC

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

✓ Mr. Tolson _____
✓ Mr. Belmont _____
✓ Mr. DeLoach _____
✓ Mr. McGuire _____
✓ Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Mr. Jones _____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/01 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

11/6/00
mfp

Copy

7 Highland Place
Yonkers 5, N. Y.

June 18, 1959

Richard M. Nixon, Esq.
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/17/01 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

Dear Mr. Nixon:

I address you to make a suggestion concerned with the international scene where you seem destined to play a most decisive role.

It concerns the fate of two obscure men who through no personal merit happen to be symbols of certain issues that influence international thinking. I refer to Gilbert Green and Henry Winston, serving prison terms for Communist activity lengthened by a contempt in evading application of the original sentence, to a total of 10 years separation from their families.

I have no sympathy with their conduct and no connection with them or their friends, for more than 13 years. But I recall them in the far distant past as among the least dogmatic and fanatical of their group, and it seemed unfortunate to me that in 1956-57 they were isolated from the great upheaval in the communist milieu typified by the Hungarian revolution and its suppression by Soviet guns; at that time, if free, they would most likely have stood with John Gates and associates in denouncing their erstwhile Soviet mentors.

In any case, under Supreme Court decisions on cases subsequent to theirs a distinction was laid down between "advocacy" and active conspiracy which leaves doubt as to whether if applied to their case they would have been imprisoned, since other cases with substantially the same evidence have been quashed. Green and Winston remain in prison on an anachronistic basis. There are ample ground for commuting their sentences to time already served without any hint of condoning their and their group's conduct.

My suggestion is that such a commutation would, in a subsidiary but very effective way, add strength to your own future international role. It would furnish a dramatic contrast between American ways of dealing with political dissidents, as against the Soviet typified in the hanging of Imry Nagy and others. It would be a declaration to the world that within America there is no fear of subversion because there is no ground for it. Above all it would demonstrate to the world that justice tempered with mercy which was traditionally American, and made this country admired and envied in all lands.

I make this suggestion privately and entirely on my own, sharing it with none. I have not joined in any moves that have been publicised, and will not do so, and have addressed no other public figure. My motive is the firm belief that wiping this particular slate clean at this particular moment will strengthen America's moral position in a world where great populations hunger for a rebirth of morality.

40-3718-821
Sincerely,
ENCLOSURE Earl Browder